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ABSTRACT

Proceedings of a conference on educating secondary school age children from immigrant families include summaries of papers, discussions, and panel presentations on the following topics: adolescent immigrant age and developmental issues; instructional issues in language development and bilingualism; limited-English-speaking students' access to core curriculum in middle schools; high school restructuring and school reform efforts; use of sheltered English for teaching content; human relations in multicultural secondary schools; teaching science and math to language minority children; accountability, student assessment, and equity for all students; and the political, legal, and fiscal climate for immigrant education and policy formation. Additional issues are addressed briefly in a concluding section. A list of conference participants and an annotated bibliography are appended. (MSE)

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PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE

ED 360 826

Educating Students from Immigrant Families: Meeting the Challenge in Secondary Schools

Edited by Catherine Minicucci and Laurie Olsen

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Educating Students from Immigrant Families:

Meeting the Challenge in Secondary Schools

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE
October 22–24, 1992
hosted by
The UCSC National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity
and Second Language Learning

Proceedings edited by
Catherine Minicucci
and Laurie Olsen

SPONSORED BY THE WALTER S. JOHNSON FOUNDATION

NATIONAL CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON CULTURAL DIVERSITY
AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

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February 1, 1993

To the Reader:

It is with pleasure that we release the Proceedings of the Conference, "Educating Students from Immigrant Families: Meeting the Challenge in Secondary Schools." The Conference was held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in October 1992, and was sponsored by the National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning.

The purpose of this Conference was to explore what is known and discover what is unknown about educating secondary school-age students from immigrant families. The idea for the Conference emerged from a recent report on secondary programs for Limited English Proficient students that contained some alarming findings about the state of the art in educating these students in California schools.

The Conference brought together some of the leading practitioners, researchers, and policymakers in the field to explore the special challenges of educating adolescent immigrant students, to focus policy attention on issues of access and equality, and to stimulate new research on issues in secondary LEP education.

Special thanks are due to the Walter S. Johnson Foundation for providing the funding for the Conference and these Proceedings.

Sincerely,

B McLaughlin / for

Eugene Garcia and Barry McLaughlin
Directors

Contents

6 **Introduction**

8 **Keynote**

Jim Cummins, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

10 **Adolescent Immigrant Age and Developmental Issues**

Convener: Patricia Gandara, University of California at Davis
Paper by Patricia Phelan, University of Washington
Discussants: Kenji Ima, San Diego State University
Manny Casas, University of California at Santa Barbara

19 **Language Development and Bilingualism**

Convener: Barry McLaughlin, University of California at Santa Cruz
Presentation by Faye Peitzman, UCLA Writing Project
Discussants: Sau-Ling Wong, University of California at Berkeley
Victoria Jew, California State University at Sacramento
Daniel Holt, State Department of Education

26 **Access to Core Curriculum in Middle Schools**

Convener: Lance Tsang, ARC Associates
Paper by Catherine Minicucci, Minicucci Associates
Discussants: Thelma Galindo-Melendez, Montebello Unified School District
Tim Allen, San Diego City Unified School District

34 **High School Restructuring and School Reform**

Paper by Laurie Olsen, California Tomorrow
Paper by Tamara Lucas, MRC Northern California
Respondants: Hugh Mehan, University of California at San Diego
Paul Berman, Berman Weiler Associates

54 **Sheltered English for Teaching Content**

Convener: Barry McLaughlin, University of California at Santa Cruz
Panelists: Shelley Spiegel-Coleman, Los Angeles County Office of Education
Rosalia Salinas, San Diego County Office of Education
Aida Walqui, Stanford University
Donna Christian, Center for Applied Linguistics
Debby Short, Center for Applied Linguistics

61 **Human Relations in Multicultural Secondary Schools**

Convener: Beryl Nelson, Berman Weiler Associates
Panelists: Laurie Olsen, California Tomorrow
Helen Chang, Oakland Technical High School
Chia Vasquez, Vasquez, DuBois and Associates

70 **Teaching Science and Math**

Convener: Laurie Olsen, California Tomorrow
Panelists:Beth Warren and Ann Rosebery, TERC
Mary Brenner, University of California at Santa Barbara

81 **Accountability, Equity and Assessment**

Convener: Patricia Gandara, University of California at Davis
Panelists: Chris Faltis, University of Arizona at Tempe
Virginia Collier, George Mason University

88 **The Political, Legal and Fiscal Climate**

Panelists: Peter Roos, META
Eugene Garcia, University of California at Santa Cruz

94 **Footnote Thoughts and Future Directions**
100 **Conference Participants**
102 **Annotated Bibliography**

Introduction

This conference is rooted in research released one year ago by Berman Weiler Associates of Berkeley, California, reporting on what is occuring in programs for Limited English Proficient students in middle and high schools throughout California. The report was a response to concerns of the state legislature about educational services available to the growing population of immigrant adolescents.

When California's Bilingual Education Program legislation came up for re-authorization several years ago, it caused a bitter political fight over bilingual education, culminating in the veto of the legislation by Governor George Deukmejian. While the State Superintendent of Instruction Bill Honig cautioned school districts to maintain their bilingual programs, the legal ambiguities, combined with deep budget cuts, demographic change and political turmoil over language policy, resulted in major implementation difficulties and tremendous local variation in how the needs of LEP students were being addressed.

Even while the state's Bilingual Education law was in effect, not much state direction was given regarding LEP programs at the secondary level. Historically, policy concerns in bilingual education have focused on the elementary level. The emphasis was understandable. There were more Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in the elementary years than in secondary, and most of the early research on second language learning was focused on elementary schools.

By 1990, however, almost one-third of California's LEP population was enrolled in grades 7–12. The lack of information about available services at the secondary level suggested the need for information and policy focus on secondary programs. Just one year after California's Bilingual Education Program was allowed to sunset, the California state legislature requested an evaluation of services for Limited English Proficient students in California schools. One aspect of the research was to conduct an exploratory, descriptive investigation into secondary LEP programs in the state. The contract was awarded to Berman Weiler Associates. Catherine Minicucci and Laurie Olsen were charged with the task of designing and conducting the research for the secondary school portion of the project. The research was conducted throughout 1991, and was released early in 1992, revealing some startling facts:

- The numbers of Limited English Proficient students in secondary schools in California is growing dramatically as the state faces an unprecedented immigration wave. Almost one quarter of a million LEP students are enrolled in California's secondary schools. Between 1987 and 1990 alone, LEP enrollment increased by 43%. These students represent dozens of different language groups, national and cultural backgrounds.

- There is an overall lack of access to core required content classes for LEP students in secondary schools

- The study found that at precisely the point that adolescent LEP students face compounded academic challenges of learning English, acquiring content areas and often needing to overcome academic gaps due to absences or lack of prior schooling — they are being given short schedules because schools are unable to provide the courses they need.

- This lack of access to core courses is related largely to a shortage of trained and willing teachers, as well as to fragmented, departmentalized, decision making.

- There is an increasing separation of LEP students, due primarily to the increased use of sheltered content classes which group LEP students together with other LEP students exclusively. And, we found disturbing indications that the sheltered approach most often places LEP students with the least experienced, insufficiently trained teachers — with few appropriate materials, and a lack of primary language support or instruction.

- The reasearch identified a mismatch between the traditional structure of secondary schools and the needs of LEP students, leading to a lack of support services necessary for their participation in school, a lack of flexibility to allow accumulation of credits towards graduation, and a lack of cohesiveness and coherence in the educational approach.
- There are particular concerns about the need to develop programmatic models for students with little or no prior schooling, and the need for research to better understand the large group of students in secondary schools who lack basic English, literacy and academic skills despite having been in U.S. schools for most of their school years.
- The study found, in short, a lack of comprehensive approaches to the education of LEP students in secondary schools, and inadequate policy or research attention to the special and pressing challenges facing secondary schools.
- The report to the state included many recommendations, among them:
    - The need for basic restructuring of secondary schools to better meet the needs of a linguistically and culturally diverse student population.
    - The need to create networks to disseminate information about what is being designed, tried and found to be effective in secondary LEP programs.
    - The need for a comprehensive state-wide staff professional development campaign aimed at preparing all teachers in secondary schools to work with LEP students.
- And, the report called upon the state department of education to convene researchers and practitioners to advance the state-of-the-art in secondary LEP education, on the premise that a strongly supported knowledge development effort is necessary to build strong secondary LEP programs.

It is this last recommendation in particular which sets the stage for the October conference presented in this book. As conference co-coodindators, and co-authors of the Berman Weiler report to the legislature, it is our sincere hope that this conference will promote new policy activity, renewed program design efforts, and new networks among people working to design and implement strong comprehensive secondary school programs for immigrant students.

Laurie Olsen and Catherine Minicucci

Keynote Address

Jim Cummins, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

The goal of this keynote is to encourage you to reflect on the ways in which power is negotiated in the education of culturally diverse students. The framework presented in Figure 1 discusses the operation of coercive and collaborative relations of power as they are manifested in the macro-interactions between dominant and subordinated groups and in the micro-interactions between educators and students.

Coercive and Collaborative Relations of Power

Coercive relations of power refer to the exercise of power by a dominant group (or individual or country) to the detriment of a subordinated group (or individual or country). The assumption is that there is a fixed quantity of power that operates according to a balance effect; in other words, the more power one group has the less is left for other groups. Coercive relations of power usually involve a definitional process that legitimates the inferior or deviant status accorded to the subordinated group. In other words, the dominant group defines the subordinated group as inferior, thereby automatically defining itself as superior. Coercive relations of power have constituted the predominant mode of inter-group contact since the beginnings of human history at the level of both international and domestic relations.

Collaborative relations of power, on the other hand, operate on the assumption that power is not a fixed pre-determined quantity but rather can be generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations, thereby becoming "additive" rather than "subtractive." In other words, participants in the relationship are empowered through their collaboration such that each is more affirmed in her or his identity and has a greater sense of efficacy to effect change in his or her life or social situation. Thus, power is created in the relationship and shared among participants.

A fundamental assumption of the present framework is that real change in the education of culturally diverse students requires a fundamental shift from coercive to collaborative relations of power. A shift from coercive to collaborative relations of power between dominant and subordinated groups has the potential to empower both groups whereas coercive relations of power will, in the long term, result in the disempowerment of both. This implies that continutation of structures that create educational failure and impoverishment among subordinated groups will disempower not only the subordinated group but also the dominant group.

Macro-Interactions, Structures and Role Definitions

The macro-interactions between subordinated communities and societal institutions, established and controlled by the dominant group, represent a primary determinant of school success or failure for culturally diverse students. Several theorists (e.g. Cummins, 1989; Ogbu, 1978) have pointed to the fact that subordinated groups that fail academically tend to be characterized by a sense of ambivalence about the value of their cultural identity and powerlessness in relation to the dominant group.

These macro-interactions give rise to particular forms of educational structures that are designed to reproduce the relations of power in the broader society. Educational structures refer to the organization of schooling in a broad sense that includes policies, programs, curriculum and assessment. This organization is established to achieve the goals of education as defined by the dominant group in the society.

Societal macro-interactions will also influence the ways in which educators define their roles in relation to culturally diverse students and communities; in other words, they influence the mindset of assumptions, expectations and goals that educators bring to the task of educating students. The notion of educator role definitions has been proposed as a central explanatory construct in the empowerment framework I elaborated earlier (1989). This framework argued that culturally diverse students are empowered or disabled as a direct result of their interactions with educators in schools.

These interactions are mediated by the implicit or explicit role definitions that educators assume in relation to four institutional characteristics of schools. These characteristics reflect the extent to which:

1. Minority students' languages and cultures are incorporated into the school program.

2. Minority community participation is encouraged as an integral component of children's education.

3. The pedagogy promotes instrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge.

4. Professionals involved in assessment become advocates for minority students by focusing primarily on the ways in which students' academic difficulty is a function of interactions within the school context rather than legitimizing the location of the problem in the students.

Coercive Relations of Power
Manifested in the Macro-Interactions
Between Subordinated Groups and Dominant
Group Institutions

Educator Role Definitions **Educational Structures**

Micro-Interactions Between
Educators and Students

Forming a
ZONE OF PROXIMAL DEVELOPMENT

within which
Knowledge is Generated and
Identities are Negotiated

Either
Reinforcing Coercive Relations of Power
or
Promoting Collaborative Relations of Power

Figure 1

The micro-interactions between educators and students constitute the most immediate determinant of student academic success or failure and these micro-interactions are a function of the role definitions that educators assume and the educational structures within which they operate. These macro-interactions can be described in relation to Vygotsky's notion of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) — the distance between children's developmental level as determined by individual problem solving without adult guidance and the level of potential development as determined by children's problem solving under the influence of or in collaboration with more capable adults or peers. Not only are knowledge and thinking abilities generated within the ZPD but student and teacher identities are also actively negotiated in the interpersonal space that the ZPD forms. The historical pattern of dominant-subordinated group interactions has been one where educators have constricted the ZPD in an attempt to sanitize deviant cultural identities. For educators to become partners in the transmission of knowledge, culturally diverse students were required to acquiesce in the subordination of their identities and to celebrate as "truth" the cultural literacy of the dominant group. The constriction of the ZPD by educators reflected a process whereby they defined their role as civilizing, saving, assimilating or educating students whose culture and values they viewed as inherently deficient. Through this exercise of coercive power they reproduced the pattern of societal macro-interactions and limited students possibilities to define and interpret their own realities and identities. The coercive power of the dominant group is used to define and confine, both physically and psychologically.

Educational equity requires that educators define their roles and attempt to orchestrate the pattern of micro-interactions in such a way that these interactions actively challenge the coercive power structure in the wider society.

Adolescent Immigrant Age and Developmental Issues

Session Abstract

Pat Phelan presented "Navigating the Psycho/Social Pressures of Adolescence: The Voices and Experiences of High School Youth." The study was based on the experiences of 54 youth, immigrant and non-immigrant, and other culturally diverse youth from four urban California high schools. Students were followed for a two year period.

The researchers developed a model inductively from extensive interview data, including indicators of pressures from the family, school and peers which distract students from school. The model considers how youth gather meaning and perceive each of the different worlds, and how those meanings combine to affect them. One focus was on borders and transitions that youth experience as they move from one world to another. The research team developed a typology of the ways students make transitions: congruent versus different worlds, smooth to difficult transitions.

School Pressures

Type 1: 90% of students whose worlds are very congruent have smooth transitions but experience tremendous pressure to achieve academically, with high costs in emotional distress and depression.

Of Type II students, 69% experience terrific pressure to achieve. Many of these students are high-achieving immigrant and minority youth. Half of these students poignantly report feeling isolated. Tracking was standard procedure in their high schools; many of these students are among the few minority or immigrant students in high track classes. They feel pressure to hide their ethnic identity from their peers. Teachers perceive these students to be well-adjusted, assimilated and essentially problem-free.

Type III (Different worlds, difficult border crossings): 68% of these kids say that they have difficulty understanding material. Many do well in some classes but not in others. The teachers view these students as lazy.

Type IV students: 90% are worried about an uncertain future and the prospect that they won't graduate. Contrary to many people's views, these students do talk about the future. They have not adopted a completely oppositional view of school.

Family pressure: Of Type I students, 80% report tremendous academic pressure. Type II also report pressure from their parents to achieve. Many say that their parents are unable to help them.

Type III students report that their parents exert pressure to achieve but they are unsure of how to help, contrary to the beliefs of school personnel that these parents don't care. For Type IV students, 80% talk about pressure from parents. 20% say parents are unsure of what to do.

Peer pressure: Students felt the most relaxed and free with their peers. However, Types II, III and IV students report discrimination in the school environment. For minority and immigrant students, one of the most powerful forces reported was the peer relationship and how they felt about peers in their environment. Yet the researchers found almost no programs in school that examine all youth and the racial relationships among them.

Discussion

Kenji Ima and Manny Casas responded to Phelan's paper and spoke of their own research as well. The model is useful in defining transitions, but it ignores many of the underlying factors that affect transition, such as race, class and ethnicity. The study is helpful in documenting the hidden cost of immigrant success and reaffirming the high expectations held by immigrant parents. Boundaries might help immigrant students by inoculating them from the distractions of peer culture. Another protective feature is cultural arrogance of some immigrant cultures. Peer pressures and the intensity of discrimination vary by neighborhood.

The results presented in this paper are similar to Manny Casas' work comparing high-risk and high-achieving Anglo and Mexican American students. His study examined 25-30 students, using the Hertzfeld and Powell index of life stressors. Mexican youth experienced more stressors in their lives than did the Anglo students, regardless of whether the Mexican students were high-risk or high-achieving. The Casas study also reported that parents of Mexican youth did not know how to help them in school.

What factors help immigrant students make transitions in the classroom and the school? The Phelan study included classroom observation. One of the main things students regard as important is teachers who care about them. Second, classes in which students worked in groups and could discuss ideas with each other could often break down barriers between groups. The third factor is school and classroom climate as they affect kids' perception of boundaries. Climate varies tremendously by school. In those schools where students could move easily among groups, they described a much higher comfort level, as opposed to schools where groups maintained rigid boundaries. Tracking was a detriment to all students.

Is there research to determine whether Latino teachers with backgrounds similar to those of their LEP students are better with this problem? None of the presenters knew of research on this subject.

The issue of parent education is a political one. Parent education frequently is merely informational, introducing parents to the teacher and participating in international night. For low income, immigrant parents, the density of the institutional structure of the school is overwhelming. Parent education for them requires an effort similar to union organization with follow-up.

Session Description

Convener:
PATRICIA GANDARA,
University of California, Davis

Paper Presenter:
PATRICIA PHELAN, Associate Professor,
University of Washington at Bethel

Respondents:
KENJI IMA, San Diego State University
MANNY CASAS, University of California
at Santa Barbara

Professor Phelan presented a paper entitled "Navigating the Psycho/Social Pressures of Adolescence: The Voices and Experiences of High School Youth," which had been authored by her, Hanh T. Cao, and Anne Locke Davidson in April 1992 under the auspices of the Center for Research on the Context of Secondary School Teaching at Stanford University.

The study included 54 youth, immigrant and non-immigrant, as well as other culturally diverse youth from four urban California high schools. One of the reasons a variety of students were studied is that early in the study, the researchers found that one of the profound concerns of immigrant youth is their relationship with peers. That was why the study was broadened beyond an exclusive concentration on immigrant youth.

Students' lives in their school, family and peer worlds create pressures and stress which they perceive as powerful enough to distract them from school. Unlike other studies which assume that minority status, language difference and poverty create problems, this study tried to find out from young people themselves what affected their lives. The study included high-achieving minority students believed by their teachers to have no problems. The research considered the social, emotional and educational consequences of the stresses young people face, and also looked at structural conditions in schools which had an impact on reported problems.

The study was longitudinal over two years. Initially, the researchers sought factors that affect youth with respect to their engagement in school. As the study progressed a model was developed inductively from the data.

Non-school factors—family and peers—affect the way youth relate to school, as does the experience of school itself. Looking out from the center (see Model A), the model considers how youth gather meaning and perceive each of the different worlds to which they belong. How do those meanings combine to affect youth? One area of investigation was borders and transitions that youth experience as they move from one world to another. The research team developed a typology of the ways students make transitions. Originally there were four types but after further input from students, two additional types were added. There are two dimensions to the categories: congruent versus different worlds, smooth to difficult transitions.

Description of Student Typology Using Model

The model developed by the researchers identifies six types of students with regards to ease and difficulty of transitions between the worlds of school, peer relations and home. The model is somewhat generic; it does not consider ethnicity, achievement or gender as identifying characteristics, but rather looks at the types of borders that students experience. The types include:

Type 1: Students' worlds are very congruent and they describe smooth transitions. Primarily they are white, high-achieving students, but some immigrant and minority youth are also in this group.

Type II: Students have different worlds but manage to cross borders. Many high-achieving immigrant and minority youth belong to this group. Teachers and others perceived them to be well-adjusted with no problems—these students were therefore ignored for services.

Type III: Students have different worlds and difficult border crossings. They do well in some classes but were failing others.

Type IV: Students describe different worlds and actively or passively resisted crossing borders. They perceived borders as insurmountable.

Type V: Students have congruent worlds, but transitions are resisted. Many of these were students whose families were very high-achieving but who themselves were not doing well in school.

Type VI: Students maintain different worlds but are able to make smooth transitions.

The fifth and sixth categories emerged when the researchers later used the model to work with high school students.

The results were analyzed before the last two categories were added so the results are reported by the first four types.

Results by Type of Student

The research examined pressures and problems in the worlds of school, family and peers by student type.

School Pressures

There is a big difference in types of students and the school pressures they experience.

Type 1: Ninety percent whose worlds are very congruent and had smooth transitions experience tremendous pressure to achieve academically; this includes immigrant and minority students. One student said, "Teachers don't stress learning, they stress getting grades for college."

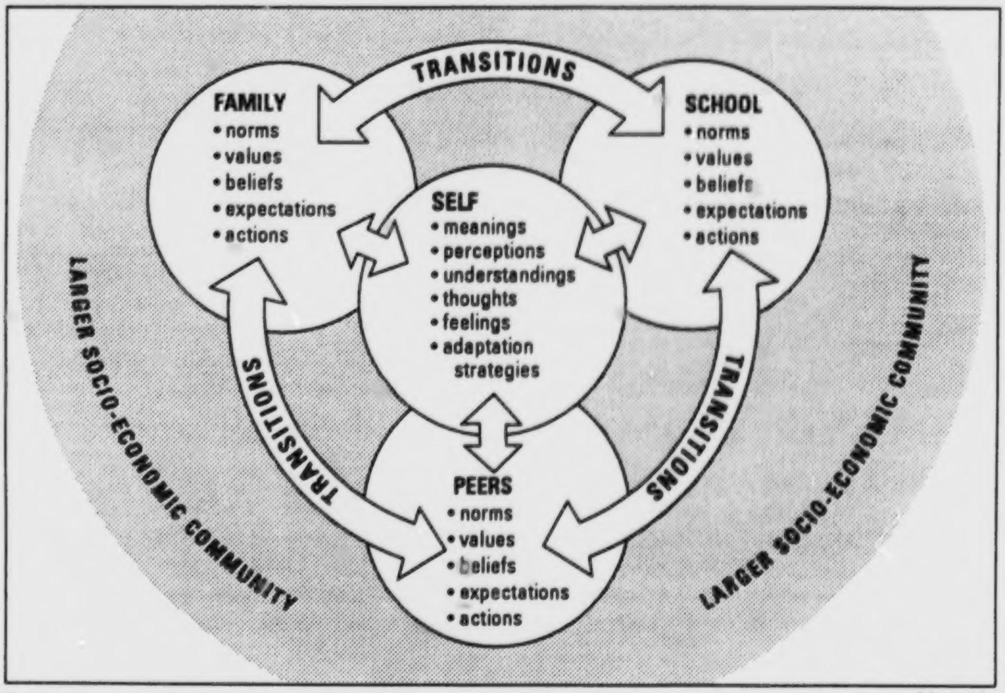
> *"It makes messing up harder to take. Because you think more and more, 'Gee, now it's not just my grades, it's my future.'...As a result, I typically don't really relax too much."*

Educational costs are high for these students. Many simply learn to play the game. They experience an inability to remember content material following exams and decreased intrinsic interest in learning. They worry so much that classroom performance suffers.

Students also suffer socially and emotionally from competition, and those students who got less than perfect scores became depressed.

Type II: Sixty-nine percent experience terrific pressure to achieve. Many of these students are high-achieving immigrant and minority youth. Tracking was standard procedure in these high schools; the immigrant and minority students are among the few in high-track classes.

These students feel pressure to hide their ethnic identity from their peers. Half poignantly reported feeling isolated and alone. Teachers, however, perceive these students as well adjusted, assimilated and essentially problem-free.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• adaptation strategies
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• norms
• values
• beliefs
• expectations
• actions
TRANSITIONS
TRANSITIONS
LARGER SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMMUNITY
LARGER SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Model A

Ivonne, Hispanic Female: "Well, I kind of feel uncomfortable. Not many Mexicans and Hispanics are in [my] classes. They [other students] probably think of me as weird, because they probably have this view that most Hispanics are dumb or something. They have that opinion, you know, [Hispanics] get bad grades. So, I don't know why I feel uncomfortable. Maybe by the end of the year they will realize that I belong."

The educational ramifications of this pattern are significant. Many times such students don't receive the help they need because they are perceived to be fine. This limited their participation within classrooms. Many students have to hide aspects of who they are, which curtails bridges to friendship and understanding.

The emotional costs felt by students are clearly a danger to their personal identity. Students feel that if they want to fit in, they have to devalue their home culture. Their silence means they don't feel free to challenge conventional stereotypes.

Type III: Sixty-eight percent of these kids say that they have difficulty understanding material; the teachers view these students as lazy. Many do well in some classes but not in others.

Their problems are exacerbated by course content they find boring, teaching styles that don't take advantage of their strengths, and low teacher expectations. As one student reported:

> *"I ask her for help, but I still don't understand it. I try to see the teacher but there are so many people. I can't ask him. Every problem is hard to understand, so I can't ask him every single problem. There's so many people in line. There's only one teacher. I don't get my turn, so I don't go in. So I get further and further behind. I can't catch up."*

Type IV: Ninety percent are worried about an uncertain future, which is often tied to their general worry about high school graduation. Contrary to many people's views, the students do talk about the future. They have not adopted a completely oppositional view of school.

Family Pressures

Type I: Eighty percent of these students (along with many Type II's) report tremendous academic pressure from their parents. Many say that their parents are unable to help them. This is indicative of the lack of cultural capital of many of these students.

Type II: Seventy-five percent report family conflict. Fifty percent say they have tremendous pressure to uphold cultural values and expectations which conflict with school or peer cultures.

Type III: Students report that their parents exert pressure to achieve, which is contrary to the belief of school personnel that their parents don't care. Many say their parents are unsure what to do to help them.

Type IV students: Eighty percent talk about pressure from parents. Twenty percent say parents are unsure what to do.

The percentages of those experiencing parental pressure are probably higher than reported because many students who get pressure do not experience it as such. We only talked about issues which students said created stress powerful enough to affect how they felt they were doing in school.

Peer Pressure

Students reported fewer pressures and problems associated with their peers, and peer groups. They said they felt most relaxed and free with their peers. Types II, III and IV students, however, report discrimination in the school environment (this is one of the first things that led us to study all students). One of the most powerful things minority and immigrant students reported was the peer relationship and their feelings about other peers in their environment. Despite this, the researchers found almost no examination of racial/peer relations at schools.

Our findings on discrimination are similar to those Laurie Olsen has found in her work throughout California (*Crossing the Schoolhouse Border*, California Tomorrow, 1988). To quote just a few students:

> *"You get a kind of discrimination from all sides, you know. From whites and from a lot of Mexicans, cause they really hate Asians...Cause a lot of gang members will go, 'This was our land, and the Asians are taking over,' and everything. The Japanese are — everyone is Japanese to them or Vietnamese. It's really messed up, so... There's a lot of discrimination in this school. So it's not an easy feeling of being able to really mingle with them. No, you have to be a certain way, I guess if you want to mingle. But no, you can't do that."*

> *"And well, most of the people here are friendly. There are a few that are like kind of not. ...I don't know, I guess they are not willing to integrate or they don't really want to. Sometimes I'm fine. But like walking with a friend, there are these two guys and they're like saying, 'New York City, here comes de' program.' [Referring to Elvira and her friend as transported students.] I hate that, it's like 'Oh my god,' and I try to ignore them but..."*

Most of the schools have observances like International Day. From the students' perspective, such events often reinforce the divisions they feel.

> *Javier, Mexican, Explorer: "Here I feel that no Hispanic has any control. They think they have some, but they don't. Not one, not one Hispanic has influence. (CAN YOU GIVE ME AN EXAMPLE?) Well, here, some guys go around in gangs. And there are Americans, how is said? 'Gringos' (laugh), that also go around in gangs. And they don't ever speak to Mexicans. The day that was Open House, no, not Open House, International Week, we made food, tostadas, and we were all in a big circle, all of us who were selling outside with table. And we were selling, but we were [excluded] out of the [main] circle...Like I said, none of us has any influence. I think that we need a Hispanic principal."*

The study engaged students in writing short vignettes of their experiences of crossing borders. One high achieving white student wrote this following the group session:

> *"I think that talking about these situations is extremely helpful to someone like myself because it brings out realities beyond behaviors of a people from different worlds. I think Ryan [he's talking about a high achieving student] is fear of Vietnamese people or whomever would be abated by knowing about the pressures put on someone like Trinh [a high achieving immigrant] and the conflicting forces of her culture and her own culture. I certainly found that I had a much better understanding of people in our group. It came at a time when I was locked into all white and Asian classes, white and Asian sports."*

The study found that using the model with students helps them reflect on their own behavior and that of others. White, mainstream high-achieving youth, whose worlds are congruent and transitions smooth, have no opportunity to learn how to cross borders.

KENJI IMA,

San Diego State University, Reactor

Professor Ima found the Phelan model useful in defining things such as transition. On the other hand, he found it to be somewhat distracting, because underlying the issue of transition are issues of class, race, and ethnicity. The model devalues these essential properties that are characteristic of and powerful in the lives of many newcomer youth. In Ima's critique, unless one looks at the specific cultural and national groups one doesn't get a clear sense of what these kids go through.

Hidden Cost of Immigrant Academic Success

Phelan spoke about academic outcomes, but Ima mentioned the "hidden costs" related to ethnicity. He cited an estimate that one fourth of attempted adolescent suicides are by Filipino youth; about one third of successful suicides are also of Filipino youth. A study of adolescent mental health wards in San Diego county found that about one third of the patients are Filipino. These figures are important because they are ethnic specific. Many of the Filipino youth are Phelan's Type II, and are under tremendous pressure to cross home and school boundaries. One could ask why Chinese youth don't show up at the same rate. This poses an interesting ethnic-specific issue, do students of differing cultural groups experience the problems of border crossings differently?

Immigrant Parents' Expectations

Ima found Phelan's findings regarding parent expectations consistent with other studies. Ima's work with adolescent refugees has also found that parents say "You've got to do well at school." They don't know what that means, but they say it.

A lot of youth tell him "You should do well, you should complete school, [they are not fools], that you should try to get a high occupation, money is important." Almost every youth will tell you that, although some pre-suppose that at-risk youth are stupid and don't know anything about this. As Ima talks to youth, the issue that emerges is how to make these general expectations of success real for them. The Phelan study finds that parents don't know how to help, which suggests that educators may have a substantial role in making real what everyone takes for granted—success.

Another issue raised by Phelan's study is the uncertainty of the students' future. These kids are not fools, but they see a goal that is clearly out of their reach. For a lot of youth, one of the most striking and depressing things is not the issue of how to get to the goal but the thought that it's not possible—they lack that hope. This raises the challenge for educators of actualizing that hope.

Utility of Boundaries

In some ways, boundaries are useful. For example, the San Diego newspaper recently reported that Mexicanos were doing better than Chicanos. What's interesting is that Mexicanos have a border to cross. They must make a transition, and it provides an inoculation or insulation from the distractions of peer culture. This is a strength, not a weakness.

Cultural Arrogance

Asian parents emphasize home language and culture, and thereby provide a fundamental strength for their youth. The Chinese teenager will say, "There's a white world and a Chinese world. After all is said and done, the Chinese world is really better but we've got to get schooling." From the typical American point of view, this is cultural arrogance, but it has positive benefits that should not be overlooked. In this era of multiculturalism, educators should consider inculcating respect for home-cultural attitude. If concerned people want to strengthen the family, this is something to look into.

Peer Pressure and Neighborhood

Neighborhood and socio-economic status are included in Phelan's model. The type of neighborhood makes a huge difference as to discrimination, the nature of peer pressure and transition children have to make. In San Diego County, Poway Unified, an upper-middle-class area, is quite different from Hoover High School for immigrant and refugee kids' adjustment. Both places are clearly racist in character but the kind of pressure the adolescents face in the two contexts is very different. In east San Diego gangs are a top priority for Cambodian youth—an issue of survival. In Bernardo Heights Middle School in Poway for Filipino youth, discrimination is different. The neighborhood context is part of the youth adjustment equation.

Transition Strategies for Passing

The difficulties adolescents face in adjustment were brought home by Ima's discussion of talks with Cambodian and Vietnamese youth. One Cambodian youth from Hoover High school who spoke good English was on a sports team. In the same school are Cambodian students whose English is so-so; they are the ones who are gangsters. He noticed that the other athletes on his team would deride the Cambodians, but then eyeball him and say "You're one of the regular guys, not one of them."

At Crawford High School in 1988 there was a mass race riot involving over 100 students, in which US born youth assaulted refugee youth. It was very serious. What struck Ima in talking with the youth was how the Vietnamese were able to get out of being assaulted to the same extent that the Cambodian youth were assaulted. Vietnamese youth said, "We talk better than they do."

The issue here is really "passing." Strategies for passing include cultural skills such as language and manner of speaking. The Cambodian youth in the previous example could emulate the local speech pattern, and his teammates didn't look at him as Cambodian. The Vietnamese case illustrates the transition from being FOB "Fresh off the Boat," to "You're one of us."

Type IV students worry about their younger siblings. This is common for kids on probation. Could Type IV youth help the younger kids stay out of trouble? We often fail to see how the experience of Type IV troubled youths might be turned around and used in a productive fashion.

Ima believes a more in-depth look at the world views of youth would be valuable; looking at vignettes and investigating cases in more detail would bring out some of the processes of youth adjustment, and offer clues that educators could use to help these kids.

MANNY CASAS

University of California, Reactor

Casas is a counseling psychologist, not a counseling educator, so he deals with the social and environmental factors that affect children, rather than the school structure.

Casas compared Phelan's findings with his study which was published approximately two years ago. He studied both Mexican American Chicano students who succeed and those who are "at-risk." Educators and researchers often give attention to the at risk kids and lose sight of the significant number who are doing well. Why are they doing well? Who is succeeding? What variables are coming into play?

Stressors Affecting Youth

Casas' study examined stressors rather than problems. He used the Fifty Stressful Life Events Inventory developed by Hirtzfeld and Powell [1986] with a small sample of 25-30 students divided into four categories: Anglo successful and Anglo at-risk (defined as those getting D's and F's in reading and English) and Mexican American successful and at-risk (failing in reading and English). He asked all the students to identify their stressors over the previous year. Mexican youth had a larger number of stressors than did Anglo kids, regardless of whether they were at risk or successful. Any stressor reported by 30 percent of kids was regarded as one that needed attention.

Anglo students reported stressors of a general nature: peers, teacher, world, lack of money. The Mexican American group reported all these and others as well. Both Mexican-American groups reported that they became embarrassed easily and wanted to work, but were unable to find jobs. This ties in with Ima's comments about the neighborhood. The study revealed ethnic conflicts and tensions in Santa Barbara. Darker-skinned people stand out. Mexican students don't feel comfortable standing up and speaking in class, whether they are succeeding in class or not. The Mexican-American at risk group reported more severe stressors and fear of being in new classes, having friends move away, feeling peer pressures, lacking privacy at home, fearing for their physical safety, worrying about changes in their family life composition.

Both at-risk groups expressed fear of dying, particularly the Mexican American group. Many had a parent or sibling die violently. They were bringing these types of problems to school and they weren't succeeding very well. One can imagine the problem being worse in Los Angeles.

Students do know what it takes to succeed; there is no difference among the four groups in stating what does it take to do well in school. They said they needed to spend more time studying, go to class regularly, get help with homework. The question arises, why do some groups do it and some not? The stressors the kids have may mean that they might know what they should do, but things impinge on their lives that make it difficult to follow through.

Parents Unable to Help

Parents often seem unable to offer much help. In a previous study, Casas asked students, "Who helps you with your homework?" Mexican American youth, successful or not, get help from their brothers and sisters. Successful Anglo students turned to their fathers or mothers for help. So while both groups seek help, one group tends to turn to people who are struggling as much as they are. They need help from someone with more savvy about the system and a better academic background. The at-risk Anglo students were very alienated. When Casas tried to interview the parents, every group except the at-risk Anglo parents were willing to talk to researchers.

It is a myth that the Hispanic parents are not interested. Casas went at 10 o'clock because that's when parents got off work; they would receive him with coffee and pan dulces. With the Anglo students, he couldn't get past the door or the phone. His experience raises questions about who is really open to this type of help.

Immigrant Success in School

The reason that Mexicanos do better than Chicanos in education is complex. The age of immigration seems very important. Older teen immigrants have interests apart from school. One 19-year-old immigrant at Santa Barbara High School was a sophomore, and had real difficulty with school as a consequence.

Younger immigrants assimilate more easily; they are able to fit into play groups due to their youthfulness. Mexican immigrants' comparison group is those who were left behind who are not doing very well in Mexico. There is hope for them, an opening horizon in California. For Chicanos, after 2 -3 generations of being slapped down, the comparison group is no longer across the border, it's across the street, in the classroom. So the immigration history comes into play.

Immigrant Parents' Expectations

Parents care. Almost all of the Mexican American parents say they want their kids to go to college, to be teachers, doctors, lawyers, or priests (narrow list of choices). They do not interact with engineers and physicists. The sad thing is that while they want these successes for their children, they don't think their kids will make it. They don't believe they will graduate. Casas asked parents what it will take to make their hopes happen. The answer given by low-income Mexican American parents is that if the kids do work hard and behave themselves, they will become doctors. More acculturated Mexican American parents and Anglo parents, on the other hand, know that certain high school courses, college, medical school are required. Immigrants have no knowledge base—those families need to be reached.

There are other issues: drug and alcohol use are big issues in the Latino community, especially with inhalants, the prevalence of AIDs, and post-traumatic stress syndrome affecting immigrants from Central America whose past is filled with murder and chaos. School counselors are not trained in for these problems. Educators need to broaden their interests to include non-academic issues like mental health needs.

DISCUSSION

Question: "If parents could become more active and students were able to negotiate the system, then how would those students relate to those in their own culture?"

Manny Casas: How are kids fitting in with their own group when they do well in school? I don't have data but I see a split-off when kids succeed. That is almost a "vendido"(sell-out), so there is a conflict. If a student tries to maintain identity with her cultural group, it causes more stress. If they get acculturated, stress is reduced. Among Hispanics we don't like to discuss skin color, yet it is important in how Hispanics are treated. Lighter-skinned Hispanics have it easier; Black Hispanics are subject to the same types of problems as all African Americans.

Transition: Classroom Strategies

Question: Are there teaching models of classroom instruction, like cooperative learning, which are really helpful? Are there models that work well with Latino teachers with similar backgrounds? Are they better with this problem? Have we ever studied them?

Pat Phelan: Regarding the first question: we did a lot of classroom observation as part of the study. One of the main things students talk about is teachers who care about them. The term "caring" is one of the most prominent words that appeared. Second, classes in which students worked in groups and could discuss ideas with each other often break down barriers. The third factor is school climate as it affects kids' perception of boundaries. It varies tremendously by school. In those schools in which students could move easily among groups, they described a much higher comfort level, as opposed to schools where groups maintained rigid boundaries. Both school- and classroom-level factors were important. Tracking was a real detriment to all students. I know of no research on teachers who are of the same ethnicity.

Manny Casas: I know of no research on this topic.

Immigrant Parents and Schools

Question: Referring to the statement, "Kids know what they need to do," are kids blaming themselves by saying they need to study harder? Studying harder might not make the difference, nor are parents necessarily to blame. It's quite a riddle to get past self-blame, but people need to understand the limits of their responsibilities and see that the school system is to blame. A lot of Latino bilingual teachers are fearful of advocating for kids. They are more afraid than the parents. Although it is hard for immigrant parents to become advocates, it is a political question—how to empower parents. It takes hours and we don't have the time or expertise.

Manny Casas: I don't have a quick fix for this. We need to get beyond parents' self-blame. They believe they are less entitled than others. If I were to set up a school of education and wanted to tackle the problems of the minority community, I would have two tracks: a track for teachers to work with parents, in parallel with classroom teachers who work with LEP and poor students. This wouldn't be for acculturated students, but for entry-level people, to get them into the classroom to learn English while their kids are learning. I have tried to get federal funding to do family training. MALDEF now has a parent training project.

Kenji Ima: The issue is political. Parent education frequently consists of giving parents information, having them meet their child's teacher and getting their help with International Night by bringing tacos or sushi. For low-income, immigrant parents the density of the institutional structure and the pressure, is like battling a tidal wave. It's like David and Goliath. Real parent education will require an effort like union organizing with follow-up; the needs go beyond training.

Patricia Gandara: It's time for us to talk about policy implications. The peer research is very interesting. Is there a policy linkage? There does seem to be a need for family parent training programs and for districts and the state to be involved. I found Kenji's comments on peer group very interesting and very difficult to deal with in regard to policy.

Immigrant Gender Roles

Question: Is there a gender issue? Does it call for different interventions?

Pat Phelan: Gender roles differentiate responsibilities in families. In the interactions in class, high-achieving immigrants tend to be female. However, females feel pressure to find an "appropriate mate." They also get pressure from their families not to assimilate. More mentors are needed for males.

Kenji Ima: Females do better. The clash in sex roles is a big boundary issue.

Language Development and Bilingualism

Session Abstract

Faye Peitzman of the UCLA Writing Project described the challenge of assisting LEP students in learning to write analytically. LEP students face linguistic, cultural and intellectual hurdles in learning to write English, along with inadequately trained teachers. Analytical writing is the most difficult type of writing because students have to describe the significance of something, rather than just relate their own experiences. The UCLA Writing project has worked with ESL teachers to help them teach analytical writing to LEP students in high school, using the "Subject A" writing prompts. Teachers act as researchers and help the Writing Project to develop and refine the approach to teaching writing to LEP students.

Using Vygotsky's idea of the zone of proximal development, one difference between LEP students and other students is that there is a bigger gap between what LEP students can do on their own and what they can do with assistance. The Writing Project has learned that teachers need to elongate the process of writing for LEP students, with activities that bring them into, through and beyond the material they are to write about. LEP students can make rapid progress in acquiring English writing using the Writing Project approach.

A "Subject A" placement exam writing prompt example was demonstrated during the workshop, with LEP students essays and corrections given by the teachers. Peitzman's suggestions for error correction include scanning the material first and not going on an "error hunt." Teachers should avoid too many specific comments, which can be overwhelming for students. Focus on the content to pinpoint major strengths, using those as a focus for revision and provide a few very specific comments.

Discussion

Sau-Ling Wong, Victoria Jew and Dan Holt responded to Peitzman's paper by raising a number of issues about the relationship of writing in a second language and the cultural context of home language and culture. Interpreting the significance of written material in analytical writing is influenced by the cultural context of the writer. Process writing should not neglect the correction of writing errors in syntax and grammar made by LEP students or their acquisition of English writing skills will be stunted. The techniques used to teach English writing in the Writing Project could also be used to teach primary language writing. This element should be explored further. In addition, teachers should learn about their LEP students' language world and how language is used in the students' cultural legacy. Ways are needed to connect learning and methodology with language use in the family, community and peer group, all of which influence LEP students.

Session Description

Convener:
BARRY MCLAUGHLIN, Co-Director, National Center for Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning

Paper Presenter:
FAYE PEITZMAN, Co-Director, UCLA Writing Project

Respondents:
SAU LING WONG, University of California at Berkeley
VICTORIA JEW, California State University at Sacramento
DAN HOLT, State Department of Education

Teaching challenge

Despite the breadth in the title of this session, Peitzman focused on helping LEP students learn to write English in high school. The teaching challenge for teachers of LEP students and the students themselves consists of three hurdles: first, linguistic (the students are still in the process of learning English); second, cultural (in both reading and writing, students come with different sets of expectations and experiences); and intellectual, which is similar to the challenge that faces all students.

An additional hurdle is unnecessary, but all too frequent: LEP students are often assigned to the wrong classes and matched with untrained teachers. Peitzman gave the example of an English teacher who had eight ESL third- and fourth-level students in a regular English class because there was no ESL teacher for that track of the year-round middle school. It must be acknowledged that misplacement and lack of sufficient ESL teachers is a major difficulty compounding the challenge of teaching and learning to write in English.

Analytical writing

Briefly, analytical reading and writing "define the significance of an event or a piece of data for a reader." Analysis requires not only summarizing, but understanding and conveying meaning and significance. Perhaps because analytical writing is the most difficult skill to learn, analytical reading and writing are too often brushed aside in the education of LEP students for the sake of oral proficiency and helping beginning writers.

Peitzman's project focuses upon approaches to help LEP students read and write analytically, as they need to do to meet the expectations of universities. The UCLA project is designed to help ESL students in high schools go as far as they can while they're still in ESL and transitional classes.

Learning analytical writing skills can begin much earlier than it is curently presented in most schools. UCLA has worked with elementary school teachers and found that students can think and write analytically as early as first grade, provided that teachers orchestrate opportunities for students to do so. It is easier to write analytically about personal experiences than about texts one did not create oneself, so this is a logical starting point for acquiring the skill.

Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development

Peitzman began her presentation by rooting her work theoretically in Vygotsky's concept, the zone of proximal development. What kids can do on their own, without assistance (ZPD), can be thought of as an inner circle. What individual teachers, schools and the UCLA project focus on is what students can do with the assistance from others who have more skill and can help them take on new challenges they would be unable to do unassisted. This can be thought of as a larger circle. For LEP students, the distance between the two circles may be larger—there is a bigger gap between what they can do on their own with what can do with assistance than is the case with their English fluent peers. Thus, assistance becomes ever more crucial.

UCLA Writing Project for ESL Teachers

UCLA's collaborative program with schools has for the past five years brought together ESL teachers in high schools with ESL teachers at UCLA for workshops on teaching analytical writing. Peitzman articulated the UCLA Writing Project's goals.

Teaching consists of assisting performance through the zone of proximal development. Teaching can be said to occur when the assistance is offered at points in the ZPD at which performance requires assistance. Teaching must be redefined as assisted performance.

The project uses the "Subject A" placement exam (University of California's examination for incoming freshman) as a starting point. It consists of a two-page passage and an open ended prompt. Students usually come to the passage cold, and are given two hours to respond to an analytical writing prompt. It's a classic example of unassisted performance in the zone of proximal development: "Here's the task, go to it, and we'll see how you do."

The UCLA project staff use it with high school students in all grades who are still acquiring English. The passage is shown to teachers and they are asked, "How can you make this text accessible to the students in your class? What would you need to do to help students respond?

Borrowing from the California Literature Project's concept of helping students work "into, through and beyond text," the UCLA Project begins their approach to writing by encouraging students to make connections with personal experiences or other readings before attempting to write. "Through the text" means teachers work with students to examine how students might read the text, rather than just handing it out and leaving the students to read it on their own . In one text, which Peitzman provided as an example, there are 35 unfamiliar words, which can be overwhelming to a limited English reader. Her approach looks for ways to divide the task of reading and gets collaborative groups to be responsible for sections so it is less overwhelming. "Beyond the text" is the stage of writing analytically about the passage.

Peitzman identified five steps in the writing process: students approach and access the text; students read and interact with the text; students write a first draft to an analytical writing prompt; students receive written or oral responses from the teacher; students consider the comments and revise their writing.

Helping students get access to the text is probably what teachers do best already by using photographs and music or by drawing on students' personal experience. Reading and interacting with the text needs more work, however. It is more perplexing for teachers.

Research on writing shows that the main thing teachers need to do is to elongate the process of writing. In the past, writing was truncated. There was a short time between assignment and assessment, with very little planning or discussion time. It is better to give students time to take advantage of teacher feedback. Especially for LEP students learning to write English, we need to lengthen the process of writing.

When students are writing a first draft, the UCLA project uses peer response groups, although a lot of teachers are reluctant because they fear students won't like this method. It is, however, beneficial over time. The project tries to encourage teachers to have confidence that it will work.

"Subject A" topics are always phrased to allow a lot of leeway in responding. Peitzman re-phrased the question in a way that suggests a structure for the response, which is very helpful but narrows the possibilities. After students have worked their way through the passage and written a response, teachers use the writing as first drafts. For LEP students, she suggests skimming the paper before writing comments. Read over errors to see what the students have said. Focus on the content to pinpoint major strengths, the major focus for revision, and then make very specific comments — not too many, because that would be overwhelming.

Another important element of the program is the class visit by a former ESL student now enrolled in UCLA. The student talks about his/her experiences in school and the university. These visits provide motivational interaction for students, and get them to start thinking about going to college.

Petizman concluded by saying that a lot is known about how to push students to do reading that is beyond what they could do by themselves and how to help them with writing. The kind of improvement students can make in a year with trained teachers is tremendous.

SAU LING WONG

UC Berkeley, Asian American Studies Department, respondent

Teachers underestimate the cognitive development of LEP students. Peitzman's paper reminded me of a lot of issues we have encountered in our work with the Center for the Study of Writing at U.C. Berkeley. When we approach analytical writing, we need to assume that the students are smart enough, cognitively mature enough that they don't need to be talked down to. This is an approach, however, that is seldom used with LEP students.

Our study sample is small, but our observation is that there is very little writing going on at the schools investigated, which won't surprise conference attendees. What little writing there is, is extremely controlled: fill in the blanks, spelling exercises, or perhaps a brief response to a topic. The kids respond by resisting. The Chinese kids have a reputation for being "good kids" so they don't act out; they seem compliant and eager to learn in the beginning but several months later they begin to resist. These young adults are cognitively mature, yet many LEP students are assumed to be immature, dumb, and incapable, simply because they are not English fluent.

While the LEP students are doing very little writing, they are nonetheless sophisticated in their use of L1. They are not given the respect that is due them. There is a tendency to infantilize LEP students, to assume they are younger than they really are.

One young girl we interviewed was capable of doing all kinds of things in Mandarin: flirting, very complex satirical statements, poetics and very complex language. Back in the ESL class, she is restricted to filling in the blanks. I am curious. What kind of shrinking of the sense of self occurs when you are given that kind of writing assignment?

The issue is not that easy. Two things are going on. On the one hand, you would like to give them writing assignments that engage them on an emotional level. On the other hand, I see a tendency to give personal writing assignments to second-language students, with the assumption that this is all they can handle. Personal writing may be easier for LEP students—but will concentrating on that kind of writing get them stuck at that level?

One high-achieving Chinese student found he could always get high marks if he wrote about Chinese New Year and Chinese values. He got very elaborate with it, with graphics on the computer and so on. He always got A's. He stayed at that level. He was constructing an oversimplified sense of identify. But if we always want them to write analytically, we deprive them of an outlet for expressing these pressing issues. Linda Harklau found in her study that immigrant high school students have to negotiate their way through the high school system without anybody telling them what's going on. School personnel steadfastly deny tracking is occurring. Smart, ambitious kids, who are comfortable in adjusting, have negotiated their way into college prep tracks that teach writing. Eventually they do well. Others get left behind permanently.

In response to the idea of teachers assisting students through the zone of proximal development: given the kind of controlling that I see in writing in classrooms, I think teachers feel sincerely that they are assisting kids now. The teachers don't acknowledge that kids are on the verge of adulthood with very complex lives.

The "Subject A" exam is given at the end of high school, and we are studying kids at the end of 8th grade. Up to that point, they do very little writing. I deal with a lot of Asian American students, a lot of English classes, including English 1A and 1B at the university. I have been impressed by them. After looking at the junior high level, I am so much more impressed by them. Looking at 8th grade, I am puzzled how even *some* of them made it to college. It is a source of marvel.

Because of the difference with native English speakers' writing, the prompt has to be phrased carefully so that second-language students can respond. We need more research on what distinguishes them. I think there is a tendency to assume that LEP students are cognitively not as developed, so they go through a writing program twice: intro to writing, pre-writing, grammar and mechanics, and then real, regular English. Then they get the same thing again. Is that necessary? Can we be more efficient? I think we can assume they have the maturity to handle the level of analytical writing, if we're careful in wording the prompts. That would be more efficient and less frustrating for students.

VICTORIA JEW

CSUS, School of Education, respondent

There is a big gap between reading in one's mother tongue and reading and writing in a second language for many students. Research shows that even people with very advanced English skills, Chinese speakers, read top down in Chinese and bottom up in English. How do we help them to get access to the information, and make the transition. What things need to happen?

In analytical writing, the significance of the text can be affected by cultural context. When students look at what they've read and decide what is significant, (the "into" aspect of understanding), students from different cultural backgrounds will differ as to what they see as significant in that passage. How can teachers anticipate the variety of interpretions of what is significant?

Let me recount a recent experience from one of my teacher preparation classes with a student from mainland China. Her English is very good: within one year of being here, she passed the NTE and the CBEST.

They were doing a predictable book for children, *Dandelion Duck*—a simple little book about a person invited to a barn dance. You wash your clothes and dress up and go to the barn dance. A very simple book—there was no way she couldn't understand it. Midway through I stopped at the point that Dandelion Duck had washed and ironed all the clothes. I said, Dan Ching, what do you think will happen next? "Well," the teacher trainee responded, "she would make sure that she had done all her chores then she would go to the dance." The correct answer in the book is that you dress up. The student found significant the Chinese value of work before pleasure— not getting dressed for the dance. How can we address this cultural difference in training teachers?

I also have some real reservations about avoiding error correction. There needs to be a proper balance between error correction and concentration on content alone. Students, particularly LEP students, need help learning the structure of the language. They feel that they are not getting enough guidance and correction. They seek a correctness in the use of language that gives them security. Not to correct their errors leaves them without the cognitive, conscious tools of learning language structure. Error correction is important, but we don't want to train teachers to concentrate on error correction at the expense of meaning in students' writing. We need a balance between meaning and technical aspects, and it's important not to give teachers the wrong message.

Cambodian, Vietnamese and Chinese students invariably comment on bilingual methodology and reflect back on their own experiences, their own responses when teachers corrected their own writing. They tend to emphasize students' need for direction. Teachers in training want students to master literal stuff before interpretation. Teachers from Asian backgrounds are concerned about correctness—to give students the security to write. But how one corrects is also important. The comment, "run-on sentence", written in a margin doesn't help by itself. "If I knew what a run on sentence was, I would not write one". "Awkward" is also unhelpful—they would not have written it awkwardly if they knew how not to make it awkward.

Furthermore, I am particularly concerned about students with beautiful styles in their primary language. How can we build upon their writing abilities and expressive abilities in their first language?

DAN HOLT

Consultant, State Department of Education,
Bilingual Unit

I appreciate the very specific message of Faye Peitzman after the groundwork had been laid in the first session on adolescent development. I believe that the challenge is how to translate both messages into language development.

Primary language development

I envision the ESL work that Faye described going along with (in the ideal world) development of the student's native language. If we're capitalizing on the students' primary language development—encouraging them to use it at home in more sophisticated ways, to continue to write and read at home and to take advanced foreign language classes to refine and develop their native language, then some of the pressures on the ESL program might be lessened. Bilingual secondary programs are one of the major policy implications that we should pursue.

For ESL itself, there are assessment and curricular content implications stemming from the idea of zone of proximal development. To know how much the students can work without assistance, teachers need to know a lot about that student's language development and how they learned and use language. Students are influenced by family, community and peer group. We need some continuity so we need to know the way they acquired language.

Teachers need ways to learn about their students' language world. For example, the California Literature Project has a California Learning Record, a sophisticated alternative assessment approach. One of the first steps is to interview parents regarding use of language at home. What kinds of books are read, what kind of writing is done? What kind of narration is done? Which activities are done alone by students, and which involve both students and parents? This is a rich source of information for finding out where student's ZPD is. Teachers need opportunities to cross cultural boundaries and gather this information.

Korean students are taught not to reveal their point of view when they write. In school in the U.S. they suddenly get a strong message that their point of view is supposed to be very clear, that they must be comfortable with revealing themselves in their writing. They are also told that they have to move from the specific to the general. Korean students may never get to the overall point, but stick to specifics. The more run on the sentence in Korea, the better. In America, writing should be clear and concise, with shorter sentences preferred. Understanding the cross-cultural aspects of writing may improve the writing experiences students have here.

We need to involve parents in our considerations about the content of language programs: the topics to read and write, the contexts that we draw topics from and moving from topics the students are familiar with to those they are not familiar. It could be an investigatory process in which the students find out about their cultural legacy. Parents can share their expertise, so students see them as cultural beings, knowers, contributers.

Such an approach might strengthen that protective boundary that Kenji Ima talked about before students actually cross it.

Writing can be therapy for LEP students, with all their stresses and traumas. Writing can help them work through joyful memories that have never been acknowledged in the school context, as well as painful ones.

Elongating the writing process, if done throughout schooling, takes time. What is appropriate for secondary LEP? Perhaps 5-7 years for native-like proficiency? Elongating the language learning process in secondary school in both L1 and L2 has implications for time expectations in secondary school. But there are multiple ways to teach writing and connect it to other content areas—we need to make use of every minute in school. We could link ESL teachers with subject teachers and bring all teachers into language development for English learners, so we maximize the advantages of high school. We should connect high schools with adult schools and community colleges. How do we create continuity among access points for language development from high school to adult school or community colleges? We are all collaborators looking at language development as a long term proposition. If we each hold the other accountable, it won't work to the best interests of the student.

We all try to learn to use language more effectively, more precisely, more richly throughout our lifetime. Most LEP students are bilingual learners. We need to see them that way, to think about them as potential bilinguals who can enrich their lives, their family's life and the life of our country. If we do that we won't see it as strictly an ESL challenge. We need more meaningful ESL beyond the beginning. We are discussing making advanced ESL more meaningful for many students, but that is not yet a reality for most, as we know from the BW study. The challenge is to prepare potential bilingual students.

Graduation credit and university admission are also important issues. Students spend time in ESL classes without college admissions credit given—why would they want to spend time in those classes? The credit problem means they do everything to avoid staying in ESL.

DISCUSSION

Question: We should have the goal of getting students off the guidance system of the Writing Project and move them on to other kinds of literature. How can they be more self sufficient in the learning process?

Faye Peitzman: UCLA's Writing Project for ESL teachers lasts four months, March to June. We're really trying to work with teachers. It only works if teachers internalize the process. A one-time deal will have some effects, but it can't hold them.

Eventually we want students to learn that all writers write in drafts, the first time is not the end. We want them to have a lot of freedom and control, but also to push them to write about something they don't care about. We're also pushing students academically;

this is the upper end of the curriculum, ESL 4. ESL 3's have a hard time but they are motivated by being asked to do something university connected.

Question: We have not mentioned the role of the computer in learning literacy. I found that children see it as a liberating tool. It furthers the concept of draft writing, going back and making changes. It is also useful in assessing writing. Do you have any comments on computers and learning writing?

Sau Ling Wong: I am a "techno peasant" who has a phobia of computers so I can't address it directly. But I've been thinking that language learning has two connotations: as a skill that can be learned, and a lot of moralism. We are waffling between the two. I think teachers judge students' oral English fluency—whether they have adopted the mannerisms of Americans and judge from that whether they can do analytical writing. I think that's a moralistic judgment. Students from China say, "Just show me the way, I can do it." That is a very skills-oriented way. Their parents are very concerned, Silicon Valley, Yuppie immigrants from China. If the child fails to move quickly, they feel the child is not working hard enough. So the teacher, the parent, the student call on certain aspects of language learning to suit their purpose at different times. The computer disentangles skills and moralistic components and makes it easier to focus.

Question: In my experience, the CAP writing assessment has influenced writing curriculum. I was surprised that it wasn't mentioned. Two questions: Why wasn't it mentioned? Would anyone comment on using it as a tool in instruction or assessment for LEP students?

Faye Peitzman: I understand that LEP students will be taking the 8th and 10th grade CAP this spring. So they will be included. Also, it's a very promising assessment: it builds in collaborative learning, students looking at a text and responding to a text. Scoring will be open. Multiple interpretations of the text are acceptable. There is a component with visuals—students draw. In many ways it will be positive. The CAP will drive instruction. Teachers are not all aware of the new test, but they will be much more aware this spring when all students take it.

We don't know what's going to happen, for example, with LEP students who have never worked in cooperative groups before—it might not go well if they are thrown into unfamiliar circumstances. We will learn a lot during the first testing cycle. I am hopeful it will do lots of wonderful things for all kids.

Comment: I have found that first-language literacy is the key to success in learning the second language. How can we connect immersion and two-way? We need to push two-way programs because they support students through K-12. These can be dynamite programs.

Faye Peitzman: Teacher research studies will also be very important. We've had a teacher research study at UCLA since 1986, most concerned with reading and writing, although a few other subject areas were studied. Practicing teachers are defining their own issues—very important ones. One 8th grade teacher, for example, was concerned because she had seen kids who hadn't passed the writing proficiency portions of tests since the early grades. Their writing was not terrible. What could she as a teacher do in one year to help push the kids over to the other side? She drew from Nancy Atwell 's work on teacher conferencing. Peer groups didn't work. She did a combination—students in groups with her, conferencing. The three case study students did pass the proficiency test.

We need more teacher researcher projects, and to pay more attention to how teachers are posing these questions.

Question: Is there any interest at the Writing Project about working on students writing in their primary language? Some come with interrupted schooling and to do writing in an ESL class seems like a giant leap for them. Will the UCLA Writing Project, or any other, take this on?

Faye Peitzman: We are one of the few writing projects focusing on LEP. In the past the focus has been on ESL and the institute has been conducted only in English. Next summer we will get a Co-Director so it won't be just limited to English—we will break new ground.

Access to Core Curriculum in Middle Schools

Session Abstract

Catherine Minicucci presented a paper on intermediate schools based upon research she conducted with Laurie Olsen as part of the Berman/Weiler study of LEP programs for the State Legislature ("Meeting the Challenge of Language Diversity: An Exploratory Study of Programs at the Secondary Level for LEP Students," 1992). There were seven junior high schools and seven middle schools in the study, all with similar demographic profiles.

The needs of secondary LEP students are diverse. Some LEP students are orally fluent in English but lack the English reading and writing skills necessary to participate in mainstream classes. Other LEP students have had no exposure to spoken English but enter California schools with a strong academic background. Students' previous schooling varies from excellent continuous schooling to none at all; many have gaps because they have been transient within the United States. Literacy in the first language varies from highly literate, to illiterate, and everything in between. LEP secondary students also have personal, economic and social issues that influence their performance in school.

The secondary programs share a common core of ESL and electives in the mainstream with EO students, but there are different models for offering academic content instruction. The study found four models: Sheltered English (SE), primary language, schools that offer some classes in Sheltered English and some in primary language, and schools that offer only mainstream classes. Eight intermediate schools used Sheltered English, three used primary language and two schools had both SE and primary language. One school had nothing, which is illegal. In the first three models, LEP students are enrolled in content classes composed entirely of LEP students.

Aside from the mode of instruction, the extent of content coverage is also important. Three levels of coverage were defined:

- Full coverage: All grade levels have math, science and social studies classes sufficient to accomodate all LEP students; they were thus able to get a full schedule of classes.
- Partial coverage: All core subjects (math, science and social studies) offer some LEP classes, but there are insufficient class sections to cover the number of LEP students. They might get short schedules, be sent home early, or take extra electives.
- Sparse coverage: There are big gaps in subject matter or grade level. For instance, there is no science available to LEP students in the school.

Of the fourteen intermediate schools, four offered full coverage in content, and three of them were middle schools. There were two bilingual middle schools with full coverage (which will be described further on). There was no content coverage at all for a single middle school. Variation in content coverage in the small sample did not relate to the number or concentration of LEP students in the school.

Four factors were important in providing content instruction to LEP students: district leadership, site leadership, staff availability and willingness, and school structure. Decisions about what to offer LEP students were being made at a very decentralized level in departmentalized schools; the department chair and the individual teachers decide how many class sections to offer LEP students. All the schools that had full coverage had site leadership and a schoolwide vision of programs for LEP students.

Site leadership promotes a schoolwide vision for LEP students and can determine whether there is staff available. Willingness of staff to teach LEP students, even once they are trained, is important. A rigid, departmentalized school finds it very difficult to respond to a change in school population, whereas a school that takes a more plastic view of its own structure finds it much easier to adapt to change. District leadership is very important, especially for making a pool of trained teachers available.

Two bilingual middle schools offer full content coverage to LEP students. Both schools are in the same district, a Hispanic, blue-collar urban neighborhood of immigrants and longterm residents. The schools are large and year-round, fed by three or four very large late-exit bilingual programs in the elementary schools. Both middle schools have more than one option per grade level; a bilingual option, a Sheltered English option and a monolingual English option. Each school has about 25 bilingual teachers. The community is very supportive of bilingualism. To be sure, parents want their kids to learn English.

Each school has a core bilingual class combining two subjects taught by a credentialed bilingual teacher. This is a practice which conserves bilingual teachers to teach content in Spanish. The classes use texts in Spanish and English for the core subjects; they adhere to the curriculum framework, and present material at appropriate grade-level expectations. Science in both schools is taught in English, but by bilingual teachers. It is true Sheltered English, where teachers can clarify concepts in the first language of students.

Both schools offer cultural and social support for the primary language. Bilingual administrators, teachers, counselors, clerks, and cafeteria personnel are available and so are signs in both languages. Status is afforded to the Spanish language.

The district offered leadership in articulating bilingual programs from the elementary to the intermediate level. The district also had a role in teacher recruitment and training. Schoolwide vision was provided by the principal and teachers in one school and by an LEP site coordinator in the other. The school structure differed from the departmentalized approach, with core classes combining subject matter and lasting for 120 to 150 minutes.

The students had unmet needs however, particularly for more oral English development. They were described as articulate in Spanish, but less articulate in English. They needed more opportunities to practice English and more time in school because of previous gaps in schooling. At one of these schools, an additional ESL class, 90 minutes, twice a week after school, was taught by one of the bilingual teachers, and gave more enhanced oral English development. There was virtualy 100 percent attendance of the LEP students from the bilingual program in this class.

The social, health and mental health needs of the students in the middle schools were not being met. School nurses and linkages to health and mental health care providers were absent.

Session Description:

Convener:
LANCE TSANG, Director, ARC

Paper Presenter:
CATHERINE MINICUCCI, Minicucci Associates

Respondents: **THELMA GALINDO-MELENDEZ**,
Montebello Unified School District
TIM ALLEN, San Diego City Schools

This paper is taken from a study of secondary school LEP programs for the California Legislature, conducted by Laurie Olsen and myself under contract to Berman/Weiler Associates. The focus of this presentation is a re-analysis of the study's data on intermediate schools and an exploration of bilingual middle schools. The presentation begins with a recap of the findings, followed by a discussion of two bilingual middle schools that are solving some of the problems that have been identified.

Background: The secondary study was commissioned by the State Legislature. They wanted to know: What services are provided to grades 7 to 12? What program options exist? How are programs staffed? How are they working within the context of a departmentalized secondary school?

In order to answer these questions we did the following activities: a literature review, a telephone survey of 27 schools, visits to 5 schools, and consultation with a group of advisors.

Findings: About 20%t of the LEP students statewide in California are in grades 7 and 8. The needs of this large group are very diverse. They vary in a number of ways:

Fluency in English: There are LEP students who are orally fluent in English because they have been in programs at the elementary level. They enter the middle school or junior high school orally fluent but perhaps their reading or writing of English is not sufficient to have them re-designated. There are LEP students who have had no exposure to spoken English who are coming in as strong students lacking only English. Some of them have heard it spoken in the street, but have never seen it written. Some of them have studied it in written form and never heard it spoken. There is a lot of variety in the oral English fluency of these students.

Schooling: Their previous education varies from excellent, continuous schooling (that may be superior to their American agemates), to kids who have had no schooling (because they lived in a remote, rural area), to kids who have gaps in their schooling because they have been transient within the United States.

Literacy: Literacy in their first language varies from highly literate, to illiterate, with everything in between. They have a lot of gaps due to absenteeism and transiency.

Socio-economic status: They have personal, economic and social concerns that are quite significant and influence their performance in school. Through the course of this meeting, we have heard about the importance of these issues. We should not think of these youth in purely educational terms, but also consider the issues they are bringing into the school.

Features of LEP Programs

Here are the findings for the intermediate, level distinguishing between junior high schools and middle schools. There are 14 intermediate schools and they are evenly distributed between middle schools and junior high schools. (see Table 1)

TABLE 1

Intermediate Schools in the Telephone Survey

Demographic Information

	Junior High Schools N=7	Middle Schools N=7
Average Enrollment	1,179	1,119
Range	700–2,000	520–1,900
Average Percent LEP	34%	38%
Range	9%–74%	13%–48%
Average Total LEP Students	69–1475	110–844
Average % that Spanish LEP Made of Total LEP	74%	60%
Range	43%–100%	5%–100%

Assessment: The schools surveyed in 1990-91 assess oral English fluency and English achievement at entry using the CTBS for English Achievement. All of them test the children on oral English fluency with tests that are approved by the state, instruments like the Language Assessment Scale, Bilingual Syntax Measure and the IPT. Some assess primary language literacy and academic skills but very few schools assess previous schooling. All 14 schools are assessing these two items; Oral English Fluency and English Achievement. After these two items, the most common skill that is assessed is English writing. These schools are gathering writing samples and scoring them holistically, to see what level of ESL students might be placed in and whether they can handle the core curriculum in English. English reading is assessed in two junior high schools, and L1 academic skill in several schools. Only one school of each type is assessing previous schooling and that is usually done through a parental interview.

TABLE 2

Summary of Assessment Practices
Survey Results

ASSESSMENT	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	
	Junior High Schools	**Middle Schools**
Oral English Fluency	7	7
English Achievement	7	7
English Writing	4	3
English Reading	2	0
Academic Skill in L_1	2	3
Previous Schooling	1	1

TABLE 3

Models of Secondary LEP Programs
Survey Results
Approach to Teaching Content

		Junior High Schools	**Middle Schools**	**Total**
Model A: Sheltered English	Full Coverage	0	0	0
	Partial Coverage	4	1	5
	Sparse Coverage	1	2	3
Model B: Primary Language	Full Coverage	0	2	2
	Partial Coverage	0	0	0
	Sparse Coverage	1	0	1
Model C: Sheltered English and Primary Language	Full Coverage	1	1	2
	Partial Coverage	0	0	0
	Sparse Coverage	0	0	0
Model D: Mainstream		0	1	1
Total		7	7	14

Models: We were asked to describe the models of LEP programs at the secondary level and we found that they share a common core. All LEP students receive ESL and electives in the mainstream with monolingual English speakers. What differs is how the content is offered. We found four models (see Table 3): Sheltered English exclusively, primary language exclusively, schools that offer some classes in Sheltered English and some in primary language. And, there is placement only in mainstream classes, which is technically illegal. For example, LEP students are placed in regular math class with no extra support, or they receive no math class at all.

In all three models, except mainstream placement, LEP students would be in math or science classes composed entirely of LEP students. The students are very diverse but they are all LEP. As we looked at our data, we realized that in a sense, the *mode* of instruction is only part of the story. The big part of the story is how much access to content these students were getting. We defined three levels of coverage.

Full coverage: All grade levels have classes for LEP students sufficient to handle all the LEP students. All three subject areas which we defined as, math, science and social studies were covered. LEP students were able to get a full schedule of classes.

Partial coverage: We were told, as we did our telephone interviews, that LEP students got short schedules. We became interested in what that meant. It meant that LEP kids would be sent home early, or would get extra study hall, because there were not enough core content classes to go around for them. Level Two is partial coverage where all core subjects, math, science,

TABLE 4

Content Instruction for LEP Students

Survey Results—All Models Combined

Content	Junior High Schools	Middle Schools	Total
Full Coverage	1	3	4
Partial Coverage	4	1	5
Sparse Coverage	2	2	4
No Coverage	0	1	1
Total	7	7	14

and social studies are offerred for LEP students but there are insufficient numbers of class sections to cover the number of LEP students who need them. One student might be given ESL 2, "LEP math," social studies, 2 electives and study hall but be given no science. Another student might be enrolled in "LEP science" and "LEP math" but not be given social studies. In other words, the classes are parceled out. At the high school level, LEP students are not able to meet their graduation requirements because they are not enrolled in the classes they need to graduate.

Sparse coverage: At Level 3, there are big gaps in course availability. For instance, there is no science available to LEP students in the school, or no math, or entire grade levels are missing. Another common pattern at the high school level is that grade 11 and 12 will not have offerings but grade 9 and 10 will.

Table 5 shows a count of intermediate schools by model, Table 6 illustrates the pattern in Junior High School. The most popular model is the use of Sheltered English content courses only; eight of the schools used Sheltered English, three of them used primary language and two of them have both Sheltered content courses and primary language courses. One school provided no core content classes addressing language needs. Two bilingual middle schools provided full coverage.

The third model, in which both Sheltered English and primary language courses are available, is more common at the high school level than intermediate. We saw some very large high schools that have offerings in Cantonese, Spanish and Sheltered English.

Question: These labels are from self-reporting, right? For instance, I'm in a high school and you're interviewing me, I'm telling you "Yes, I have Sheltered English classes," that's my labeling and so indeed whether they're sheltered or whatever quality it is, we have no way of knowing [the quality]?

Right, we were not able to assess the quality, but we know these classes are all LEP students, grouped purposely together for content instruction in English. We gathered data on the course title, how many sections were taught and the training of the teacher. If a school reported they have a primary language science class, we asked "who is teaching it?" If the answer was "a monolingual English teacher," that course wasn't counted as a primary language science course but as a Sheltered English content science course.

Regardless of whether it is or isn't a trained Sheltered English teacher?

We gathered data on how much training they had, but in the vast number of cases, training was negligible.

Some schools have a variety of offerings, so they might have Sheltered English Life Science or Life Science in Spanish or Life Science in Cantonese. That is more common at the high school level. We found only a couple of schools having this much variety in their offerings. One junior high school had core content classes in both Sheltered English and primary language. In some of the subjects they were able to get enough sections for everybody to have a full schedule.

Combining the approach in which courses are taught with the extent of availability, we find that, of the 14 intermediate schools, four offer full coverage in content. Three of these are middle schools. Five schools had partial coverage, this is where the junior high schools cluster.

Looking back at Table 1, you will note a demographic profile of the junior high schools. They are really quite similar. They are big schools, ranging from 700 to 2000 enrollment. Their average enrollment is 1100. Average percent LEP is a little bit smaller in the junior highs, but not much, 34 for junior high versus 38 for middle school. The average total LEP students varies by 400. The average percent that Spanish speaking LEP made of total LEP is a very important factor, indicating whether they have all LEP of one language or of multiple languages. The middle schools seem to have a much more diverse LEP population than the junior high schools. But the two middle schools I am going to tell you about were all 100 percent Spanish LEP. They weren't the multiple language cases.

We did not find any relationship between the extent of coverage and the concentration or percentage of LEP students. We searched the data for that. At first we thought it might relate to percent, reasoning that high percent LEP schools might place LEP issues higher on their agenda. Then we thought it might be a certain number of LEP students. That didn't make any difference either. It was very puzzling, but our sample was very small and in doing a big, systematic sample, we might have found a pattern.

We concluded that there are four factors which are important in determining the extent and range of content coverage: district leadership, site leadership, staff availability and willingness, and school structure.

A puzzling aspect of the data we collected over the telephone was why one school would have science offerings and no math, or social studies and no math, and another school had science and math, but no social studies. It appears that the decisions are being made at a very decentralized level in departmentalized schools. It's literally the Math Department Chair and the individual teachers who make the decisions to offer more or less sections of LEP classes. All the schools that had full coverage had site leadership and a schoolwide vision for LEP kids. They made sure they had enough sections in math, science and social studies. When there was an overall vision at the school level, questions like these were raised.

In most cases, however, decision making was decentralized down to the individual teacher. We interviewed the Science Department Chair who said, "Children must learn English before I will teach them sci-

TABLE 5

LEP Subject Matter in Survey Junior High Schools

Mode of Instruction	Math	Science	Social Studies
Sheltered English	5	4	6
Primary Language	1	1	1
Sheltered English and Primary Language	0	0	0
Mainstream	0	0	0
No Offerings [2]	1	2	0

TABLE 6

LEP Subject Matter in Survey Middle Schools

Mode of Instruction	Math	Science	Social Studies
Sheltered English	2	3	3
Primary Language	3	2	2
Sheltered English and Primary Language	0	0	0
Mainstream	1	1	1
No Offerings [2]	1	1	1

[2] *LEP students not placed in mainstream classes.*

ence." The Math Department Chair said, "I can teach the math, but I want to be sure I have enough coverage and enough training, so we're adding more classes." These two individuals in the same school environment, are approaching the situation differently. As a result, if you look at the data for this school, they have light coverage in science and full coverage in math. The answer is that site leadership determines schoolwide vision, and affects whether there is staff available. However, the willingness of staff is also important. It is not enough to have trained staff, they have to be willing to teach the classes.

School structure is very important. In a rigid departmentalized school, it is very difficult to respond to a change in school population, whereas a school that takes a more plastic view of its own structure finds it much easier to adapt to change.

District leadership is very important, especially for making a pool of trained teachers available. Some school districts in California offer bonuses to bilingual teachers. Most school districts, or the vast majority with large LEP populations, have a menu of training opportunities available. Some districts will pay for their aides to get a B.A. and become teachers, thereby creating a bigger pool of bilingual teachers. We see that a district can really influence the pool of teachers, the extent of their training, and the overall attitudes towards LEP programs.

Were the standards that schools were using for evaluating these classes for LEP children the same as the standards they had set for the school in general?

Our exploratory feeling about it, with a lot more research being needed, was that the standards were lower in the LEP classes, particularly Sheltered English content courses. They were not using grade level core books, and often they didn't have a sense of the curriculum they had to cover.

I'm curious about the one school where the Science and Math Chairs had such different points of view. Was there site leadership there or not?

There was site leadership there. They had a vice principal who had been in charge of bilingual programs who really was committed. This was a big high school and it was a struggle in this departmentalized structure to deliver full content. But there was a lot of good will and a lot of programming there. That was one of our Model C schools, I believe, Sheltered English and primary language. But the Science Chair was very reluctant to mount anything of significance for the LEP students. It was a political issue of the autonomy of department chairs.

An example I would like to share is that at one junior high school with 50% Spanish-speaking LEP students, there was no primary language instruction, not even Spanish for Spanish speakers. It was all English immersion and Sheltered English. The teacher who was in the classroom directly across from the ESL Chair had put up a very large poster. It was a picture of Uncle Sam but the features were exaggerated to look like a hawk. It was a frightening picture. Uncle Sam, leaning forward, is saying "Uncle Sam wants you to learn English." The principal didn't want to take it down, he didn't want to ruffle any feathers. This was sending a powerful message in that school. We saw other examples. One class had a big sign that said you get fined a nickel for speaking in your primary language. At the end of the year, the class has a party with the money. These people were very cheerful, they had no concept that what they were doing might be harmful to immigrant students.

Bilingual Middle School Models

How were the two bilingual middle schools able to offer full content?

Environment: Both schools are in the same school district. They are in a blue-collar, Hispanic, urban neighborhood of immigrants and longterm residents. There are Spanish signs in restaurants, shops, dentist's and doctor's offices. There are Spanish language newspapers and Spanish language television broadcasts. So it is theoretically possible to make your way in this neighborhood as a monolingual Spanish speaker.

The schools are large and year-round. They are being fed by three or four very large late-exit bilingual programs in the elementary schools. This is a district which has made the commitment that they are going to attain Spanish literacy in the elementary school before moving up to the middle school, so that when the middle schools encounter these students, some are already literate in Spanish. Both of these middle schools have more than one option per grade level, a bilingual option, a Sheltered English content option, a monolingual English option. They are big schools, with a lot of variety. Each school has about 25 bilingual teachers. The community is very supportive of bilingualism in the sense of having a lot of Spanish speakers in the community. To be sure, parents want their kids to learn English but also there isn't the oppositional factors that occur in some communities toward bilingual programs.

The bilingual middle school model is a core class combining two subjects. This conserves bilingual teachers by having them teach content in Spanish in combined groups. The LEP students are not moving into as many classes. One double period provides language-arts and social studies taught by trained, fluent bilingual teachers. They have texts in Spanish and English for the core subjects so they are able to teach math at grade level in Spanish. Science in both schools is taught in English, but by bilingual teachers. It is true sheltered English, where they understand and can clarify concepts in the first language of students.

There is cultural and social support for the primary language in both of these schools. There are bilingual administrators, counselors and clerks. There are signs in Spanish and English, and cafeteria personnel who are bilingual. The feeling of welcome, or status, for the language is present in both schools.

Leadership from the district is important to the articulation from elementary to the intermediate levels. Late exit bilingual elementary schools were feeding into the middle school. What commonly happens in this state is that elementary schools with late-exit bilingual programs feed students into intermediate schools which have a philosophy of extinguishing the students' native language. By contrast, this district links the elementary program up with the middle school and helps facilitate the process of transition and articulation. The district also plays a role in teacher recruitment and training.

In the first of the two schools we studied, the bilingual middle school was developed as part of a whole restructuring effort to try and increase the achievement of all students. It was done by teachers in cooperation with the principal. The central theme was in multicultural education where each student's language and culture would be valued. "We wanted to give every student a voice" stated the principal. "We wanted to bring the best out of each child." The school stressed collaboration, school-based decision making and the empowerment of faculty.

In the second bilingual middle school, the leadership was provided by a LEP site coordinator, and the support of the principal, but it wasn't the same collaborative model of decision making that was in the first school. Every year the LEP site coordinator, along with the teachers, adjusts the program offerings to meet the needs of the elementary classes, because incoming classes vary. They adjust the class composition as the needs of the kids change. The cordinator said, "Our goal is to prepare students for high school, ready for all English instruction with sound academic skills. We want them to like school when they leave here."

Neither of these schools had to face the issue of unwilling teachers. They had trained teachers and other bilingual personnel there to serve the students. And, rather than relying on a departmentalized theme, they had interdisciplinary core classes that combined different subject matter.

While I'm praising these schools because of their access to core content, there is still a way to go toward achieving a comprehensive support program. There are unmet needs at these schools, particularly the need for more oral English development. The children emerging from the bilingual programs were characterized as articulate in Spanish but needed to become more articulate in English. They needed more opportunities to practice English. They had gaps in schooling and they really could have benefitted from more time. The social, physical and mental health needs of many of these students are not being met. School nurses, or linkages to health care and mental health providers, was absent. Access to core content is an essential cornerstone that must be in place, and in too many middle schools, it is still sorely lacking.

High School Restructuring And School Reform

Summary Abstract

Presenters:
LAURIE OLSEN, Co-Director, California Tomorrow
TAMARA LUCAS, Director, Northern California MRC

Respondants:
HUGH MEHAN, Director of Teacher Education, U.C. San Diego
PAUL BERMAN, Berman/Weiler Associates

Olsen began the session by presenting the preliminary findings from a California Tomorrow research project examining two questions:

1. What does it look like when schools restructure to better meet the needs of a culturally, racially and linguistically diverse student population?

2. To what extent is school restructuring, as a policy initiative and reform movement, resulting in attention to the issues of cultural, racial and language diversity. And, to what extent is this movement resulting in outcomes which are more equitable than traditional, standard school practice?

The study conducted telephone interviews with 60 schools in California which are "restructuring," and 32 in-depth, on-site case studies in schools selected through a nomination process to identify those which are best utilizing "restructuring" to address concerns of language and culture.

The project examined 11 areas of school practice and policy: governance and decision making, home-school relationships, student grouping and placement practices, accessibility and cultural appropriateness of curriculum and pedagogy, assessment, relationships between schools and agencies serving youth and family, school safety and facilities, school climate, the structure and definition of teacher work roles and responsibilities, professional development, and data and monitoring systems.

The project found that despite the range of reasons schools cite as the impetus for restructuring, LEP programs, issues of differential access and the needs of immigrant students were not mentioned as motivation for restructuring the school program. LEP issues became part of the restructuring plans only in those schools which had a strong history of bilingual programs, a large population of immigrant and language-minority students, a faculty already trained to work with language-minority students and families, and strong administrative leadership with knowledge of and commitment to LEP issues.

Because the restructuring process in most schools relies upon and centers around a broadened dialogue about the vision, mission and program of the school, the issues raised and the quality and content of the program depend on the mix of individuals around the table. The schools in this research project reflect statewide patterns in the composition of the faculty work force: the great majority of the teachers are white and monolingual in English with little training in working with language minority students. Combined with the resulting lack of awareness and expertise on language-minority and immigrant issues is the fact that discussions of culture, race and language are viewed by many as "explosive" and uncomfortable. This is further complicated by norms within the teaching profession against criticizing or commenting on each others' work. The project found a remarkable silence on issues of equity, language policy, race and culture, despite very active and lively dialogue about school issues in general. Schools faced with budget cuts are cutting or even discontinuing LEP programs, and such choices derive logically from the attitudes and emphases revealed in the research.

Restructuring in and of itself is not a mechanism that assures attention to the needs of a diverse student population. The belief that empowering teachers would result in attention to issues of equity is clearly complicated by the fact that teachers in most schools are of a culture and language group different from those of their students, and they have had little training in the concerns of immigrant education. Thus, there is a tremendous need to educate the new decision makers (teachers at school site governance levels), about issues in the education of language-minority students.

Many educators in restructuring schools are knowledge-hungry. Most schools in the study are seeking and utilizing research knowledge in their quest for new educational approaches. However, the research they get through mainstream education reform channels tends to be "generic" and does not speak to the specific needs of language-minority students. The researchers strongly recommend that the research on second language acquisition and on effective LEP programs become a visible, disseminated, utilized body of knowledge along with the other mainstream reform ideas.

Finally, the study found that restructuring schools are mostly moving towards the creation of smaller, more human-scale groupings. They are attempting to break down the departmentalization and fragmentation of knowledge, and use more cooperative learning strategies. Teachers' roles are changing in ways which generally excite them. Schools are safer. These changes may well benefit immigrant students. However, there is little or no data being collected, nor are monitoring systems in place which would allow schools to keep track of how well groups of students are doing.

Olsen ended with a question about restructuring as an overall strategy for making the schooling system more equitable. The schools in the study were focused on individual school-site change. There is stiff competition for the resources schools say they need to make changes. A few change-oriented schools are magnets for change-oriented teachers. From a district or statewide perspective, restructuring is resulting in a few very exciting schools while many others remain insufficient and unsupported.

TAMARA LUCAS:

Lucas' paper drew upon the literature on effective schools and knowledge about the needs of language-minority students to present a framework for considering structural features of secondary schools which are appropriate for language-minority communities. Honing in on four characteristics of traditional secondary schools, Lucas identified obstacles to the success of language-minority students, including: a high degree of fragmentation in the structure of the secondary schools; specialization, isolation and hierarchical structures. She then summarized the general characteristics of "effective" secondary schools, which include: active and strong school leadership; shared goals and vision; ongoing assistance and supportive professional working environments; demanding and supportive conditions for students; community involvement; a strong focus on relevant curriculum and learning; an implementation capacity such as evolutionary planning or collaborative improvement procedures; and ongoing monitoring and problem-solving.

Lucas then raised a question: "Do we know how to adapt these general features to make them appropriate for schools with LM students?" She concludes that there are eight key features of high schools that promote the achievement of language minority students: value is placed on the students' languages and cultures; the high expectations of language minority students are made concrete; school leaders make the education of language minority students a priority; staff development is explicitly designed to help teachers and other staff serve language-minority students more effectively; a variety of courses and programs for language-minority students are offered; counseling programs give special attention to LM students; parents of language-minority students are encouraged to become involved in their children's education; school staff members share a strong commitment to empowering language-minority students through education.

Providing efffective education for language-minority students involves more than just adapting and applying the features of effective secondary schools. Lucas urges educators to look at issues of both longevity and pervasiveness of these features as well: to consider what kind of structural framework would work to the advantage of LM students. While Lucas cited the need for more research on this issue, she suggested some directions educators might consider in the attempt to create a comprehensive structure. These focus upon alternatives to fragmentation, isolation, hierarchy and specialization.

Respondents:

HUGH MEHAN responded to the papers with a call for continuing "vigilance." Noting the return of school reform to the notion of a "universal student," and in warning of the dangers of implementing "generic" and universal reforms, he suggested research to examine which interventions are appropriate for which students under which contexts. Mehan mentioned that cooperative learning and authentic assessment are reforms which need to be examined much more closely in this regard.

PAUL BERMAN urged people to think not only in terms of how to alter mainstream reforms to work for LM students, but also to think about designing schools from scratch. He posed the question: "If we were inventing a system of learning for language minority and immigrant students, what would it look like?" Berman conjectured that if we designed schools for immigrant students, we would pick up the others along the way. Furthermore, the change process itself needs attention. The real issue is not just discovering good and effective programs, but figuring out what needs to occur to promote change.

Summary of Paper

School Restructuring and the Needs of Secondary LEP Students

Preliminary Findings from the California Tomorrow *Education for Diversity Project*

by **LAURIE OLSEN**,
Executive Co-Director of California Tomorrow.

This presentation was a report of a work in progress, California Tomorrow's research effort on school restructuring and the needs of LEP students. The project was designed to answer two questions:

1. What does it look like when schools restructure to better meet the needs of a culturally, racially and linguistically diverse student population?

2. To what extent is school restructuring as a movement resulting in attention to the issues of cultural, racial and language diversity, and to what extent is it resulting in changes in outcomes which are more equitable than standard school practice?

Given the evidence of mismatches between the structures of secondary schools and the needs of LEP students, the project set out to find and document attempts to create new structures of schooling that would accommodate the needs of LEP and immigrant populations. The study is based upon in-depth telephone interviews with 60 randomly selected "restructuring" schools in California and upon 32 on-site, in-depth case studies of schools selected through a statewide nomination process. Schools were selected because they were believed to be doing exciting, meaningful restructuring and giving serious attention to issues of diversity.

The research was guided by the literature on effective schools for racial and cultural minorities, and on effective LEP programs. The literature identified ten critical areas which were probed in each school, in addition to collecting overall information about the history and process of the restructuring effort. These areas of concern were: governance and decision making (whose voices are heard in the reshaping of the school); the nature and extent of parent and community involvement in the school; student grouping and placement systems; the extent and quality of comprehensible, accessible and culturally supportive curriculum and teaching strategies; alternate assessment methods; flexibility of movement through the program; relationships between schools and agencies which serve youth and families with an eye towards access for students to a well-coordinated and broad range of linguistically and culturally appropriate services; school safety and facilities; school climate; student outcome data and program monitoring systems; and the mechanisms through which teachers were provided the time, opportunity and resources for professional development to help them meet the challenges of diverse classrooms.

The presentation did not focus on examples of promising practices (although the final full report will), but rather on overall patterns. The findings reported were far-ranging. First, schools appear to hold vastly different assessments of what the problem is that they are addressing by restructuring, and vastly different views of what it means to restructure. These range from locating the problem in the families or home cultures of the students, to issues of safety and discipline, to student achievement and lack of teacher control. In no secondary school, however, were the LEP programs or issues of differential access or the needs of immigrant students mentioned as central to the impetus to restructure. In every school the research project found tremendously hard working, commited, enthusiastic teachers involved with each other in re-shaping their schools. The high energy level, excitement about change, and sense of new things being tried was almost across the board in our case study schools. However, researchers found a marked silence on issues of culture, language and race despite ample evidence from interviews and other data revealed that inequities in access and inappropriate curriculum were present in almost all schools.

A fundamental facet of restructuring is broadening the dialogue about the school program—primarily to teachers, in some cases to parents or others beyond. For school staff, this has meant increased hours spent together trying to define their educational priorities and what the program should be. The quality and content of that dialogue shapes what occurs in the school.

Issues of differential treatment of students of different racial and cultural groups are explosive and difficult. It seems that there is a collectively created blindness to institutional inequities — and the outcome is that issues of race, culture and language are not being addressed around the table of faculty discussions.

The project found that coaches, consultants or advocacy groups outside the schools could sometimes facilitate discussion by taking responsibility for putting these issues out on the table. There are strong professional norms in the teaching field that promote teacher autonomy and prohibit teachers' criticizing each others' work. The teachers interviewed for the project were anxious to find areas of consensus among the faculty as directions for reform. The issues of bilingual education, the use of primary language instruction, attitudes towards the assimilation of immigrants, etc. are not easy areas of consensus.

In most cases, Instructional Aides are not part of the restructuring committees and governance processes, yet they are often the voices of bilingualism and the major source of adults of color on a secondary school campus. In many schools, teachers in the ESL/bilingual program do not have the status of mainstream teachers. They are often the more recently hired teachers as well. This can make it difficult for the issues they raise to have weight.

By contrast, those schools which have a strong tradition of bilingual and ESL programming and long-standing bilingual and ESL teachers are more responsive in their restructuring design to the needs of immigrant students. However, most schools do not have this tradition, support or expertise on bilingual issues. There is simply a lack of understanding and consciousness about LEP programs and student needs.

One implication of all this is that when faced with budget cuts which require prioritization, schools which have broader decision making systems involving a majority of mainstream teachers with no background in programs for language minority students, LEP programs are being marginalized, eroded, or even (in one of our case study schools) discontinued altogether.

A history of bilingual programs in a school, the existence of a strong and long-term core of bilingual/ESL teachers, and a significant concentration of LEP students seem to be the prerequisites for incorporating LEP concerns into the restructuring agenda. In those schools where this has not been the case, LEP concerns are left unaddressed. This speaks to a tremendous need to educate the new level of decision makers about issues in the education of language minority students.

Schools are getting their reform ideas from other highly visible and well-touted restructuring schools, from research and from professional development activities they "happen" to become involved with. There is now a standard set of ideas and models which most schools say they are doing, although the search, understanding and application varies tremendously. In only two of the secondary schools was research about second language acquisition, effective programs for language minority students or bilingual education present among the theoretical and practical models adopted through restructuring. Because schools often seek their ideas from other schools, the lack of focus on issues of culture, language, race in one school perpetuates the lack of focus in other places, as they become templates for each other.

The good news is that restructuring schools generally appear to be "knowledge hungry," and do have more of a research focus than they had previously. But the research they are reading is not the research about LEP issues. Without the perspective to think through how these mainstream reform approaches apply to issues of bilingual and multicultural groups, the implementation proceeds in ways that do not benefit language minority students. In most of the schools in the study, the researchers witnessed the same patterns of lack of access that Minicucci and Olsen documented in the Berman Weiler study: widespread and increasing use of "Sheltered" content classes taught by insufficiently trained teachers, almost no primary language instruction or support, social isolation of LEP students, lack of support services which address the specific needs of immigrant teenagers and are in the home language of the student, great differences of opinion among the faculty over the goals of immigrant education as well as approaches.

It becomes essential, therefore, not only that ESL and bilingual teachers play a major role in restructuring design, but also that the research on second language learning and on effective LEP programs become a visible, disseminated, used body of knowledge along with the other mainstream restructuring ideas.

Despite the fact that meaningful reform takes years and many schools are still only in the first stages, the project did witness changes taking place. Overall, the schools we visited are moving towards the creation of smaller more human scale units with an emphasis on strong adult-student relationships; they are attempting to break down departmentalization and do more interdisciplinary teaching; schools are instituting longer blocks of learning time for certain combined subjects (most often humanities); and there are more cooperative learning strategies. Schools report that through their smaller groupings and more adult contact, fewer students are falling through the cracks. Teacher roles are changing in ways which excite them. Schools are safer. In the minds of the educators on the school site, it is assumed that these changes benefit LEP students as well as all others.

However, there is a frustrating lack of data being kept about the experiences and outcomes for students by language group, ethnicity, race or LEP status. Not only is there a lack of data on outcomes by race and language, there is not even consciousness about a need for such data. Overall, the attitudes which seem to flow from a color-blind, culture-blind stance mixed with a healthy distrust of achievement tests is resulting in no one asking the questions or collecting the data which might tell whether immigrant, language minority or other groups are falling through the cracks. New efforts in assessment in most schools, and the attempt to create authentic portfolio approaches to assessment are great boons for teaching individual students. However, in the process of developing these approaches, attempts to collect other forms of data have fallen by the wayside, and no one in the schools we studied has figured out how to use the portfolio and authentic assessment approaches to take a look at sub-aggregate groups of students.

While schools are dismantling, changing educational programs and experimenting with new approaches, there are no means of monitoring the effects on students who have traditionally been ill-served in our schools. There is no way to tell what is working and for whom. Olsen recommended that educational researchers need to make it a high priority to focus on creating meaningful assessment and accountability measures

School sites in this study were basically focused on changing their own single school site. The paper raised serious concerns about how the present voluntary individual school site change will impact upon the overall school system. The project team was particularly concerned about common practices observed in district after district whereby some restructuring school sites, through an initial negotiation process with their districts as an incentive to restructure, received the right to select whole new staff or to pressure for "voluntary transfers to other schools" for teachers who aren't enthusiastic about the proposed changes. The teachers who elect not to be involved with change, or who aren't "up to" restructuring get placed elsewhere. As schools proceed in the restructuring process, most begin to demand the right to hire new staff. The right to select faculty is a key issue for school sites who view this as an issue of autonomy, and as necessary to their attempts to develop a coherent educational program. There is clearly a siphoning off of the enthusiastic change-oriented teachers to a few restructuring schools. The project also documented some student selection such as the school that simply decided not to have an ESL program, or the magnet school that counsels "lower level ESL" students to go to other schools. The inequity of siphoning off teachers and students is compounded by the stiff competition for restructuring funding. In state grants, in foundation grants, in the scramble to attract change-oriented teachers and hold onto supportive and visionary principals, there are a few winners and quite a few schools who feel they are losing out. The "winners" seem to attract even more money and research support. They become the showcases. As a policy of school reform, the result apears to be heading towards a having few good schools, and the continuation of many insufficient ones.

A full report from the California Tomorrow Education for Diversity Project on school restructuring will be available in November 1993 from: California Tomorrow, Fort Mason Center Bldg. B, San Francisco, CA 94123. Phone (415) 441-7631.

PAPER BY TAMARA LUCAS,

ARC Associates

The move to "restructure" schools has taken hold in many places throughout the country and has engendered a new sense of possibility among educators, many of whom have despaired in the face of the schools' failure to meaningfully educate young people. For educators involved in and committed to the education of language minority (LM) students, this new movement has brought about not only a sense of possibility but also a heightened recognition of the necessity to be vigilant in insuring that the interests of LM students are not lost amid the enthusiasm for comprehensive changes. As in other reform movements, we frequently hear that restructuring is "good for all students." However, all too often serving "all students" has meant diluting differences among students, reducing student differences to a commonality that does not reflect reality. To truly serve "all students," we must give serious and conscious consideration to the needs of different groups.

If we are to make thoughtful, informed decisions about what changes are likely to improve the effectiveness of secondary schools for LM students, we need to draw upon a foundation which: (1) incorporates what we know about what makes a secondary school "effective" for LM students, and (2) is based on an understanding of the ineffective components of the traditional system and of some steps that can be and have been taken to modify that system in positive ways. With the goal of building such a foundation, I will present an overview of what we know about effective secondary programs for LM students, discuss some of the elements of the structural framework of secondary schools, and consider comprehensiveness in programs for LM students. I hope to contribute to a framework for: (1) understanding what makes a secondary school effective for LM students, (2) conceptualizing structural features of and structural innovations in these schools and programs, and (3) better understanding the relationship between program effectiveness and structural features.

I have drawn data and extrapolated ideas from three studies which focused in whole or in part on successful secondary programs for LM students. The first study (which I will refer to as *the high school study*) examined six high schools in California and Arizona which were taking concrete steps to promote the academic success of Latino LM students (see Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990). The second study (which I will refer to as *the SAIP study*) identified and examined nine exemplary programs in six states, including seven secondary programs, in which instruction was provided primarily through modified instructional approaches in English rather than in students' native languages (see Tikunoff et al., 1991a & b). The third study (which I will refer to as *the capacity building study*) examined districts that had been successful at maintaining programs for LM students, including secondary programs, after having received federal funding from Title VII to provide such services.[1] Taken together, these studies provide school, program, and district perspectives on ways to serve secondary LM students successfully and to insure that services are maintained.

Overview of Secondary School Effectiveness

Typical secondary schools are almost always portrayed as dreary places (see, e.g., Boyer, 1983; Corcoran, 1990; Goodlad, 1983; National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, 1991; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Sizer, 1992a). Many, if not most, people who come into intimate contact with secondary schools (whether as teachers, parents, students, or researchers) would no doubt agree that "most American high schools still have a long way to go to substantially improve the engagement and achievement of their students" (National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, 1991, p.19). There are numerous obstacles to the success of secondary schools, many of which are derived from the nature of the secondary school itself. Secondary schools are frequently described as places with high degrees of fragmentation, specialization, isolation, and hierarchical structure. Some of the more specific obstacles discussed in the literature are: fragmented daily schedule, superficial coverage of subject matter, large class sizes, top-down hierarchical structure, confusion over the goals of secondary education, irrelevance to students' lives, and pervasive tracking. I will consider some of these features of secondary schools below.

One of the few examinations of secondary programs for LM students, an exploratory study of 27 secondary schools in California (Minicucci & Olsen, 1991), painted an equally gloomy picture. In addition to the obstacles to learning faced by all students in secondary schools, limited English proficient (LEP) students in particular were found to be inadequately served because of:

> [Their] diverse and complex needs..., a shortage of teachers willing and trained to teachers LEP courses, a lack of comprehensive program planning, difficulties in obtaining appropriate textbooks and materials, and the rigid departmental structure of secondary schools. (p.45)

The biggest difference across these 27 schools was in the approaches to academic content instruction. Many of the schools offered only partial programs for LM students in academic subject matters.

Despite this generally dismal assessment of U.S. secondary education for LM and non-LM students alike, some studies have identified secondary schools in which many students participate and achieve (Fullan 1990; Lightfoot 1983; Lucas, Henze, & Donato 1990; National Center on Effective Secondary Schools 1991; Wilson & Corcoran 1988). While the findings of the studies vary depending upon the perspectives taken and the schools examined, several themes recur. Fullan's (1990) review of ten studies of secondary schools which were conducted in the late 1980s yielded a list of characteristics and processes that incorporates many of those themes (p.245):

- Active and strong school leadership
- Shared goals and vision
- Ongoing assistance and supportive professional working environments
- Demanding and supportive conditions for students
- Community involvement
- A strong focus on relevant curriculum and learning
- An implementation capacity such as evolution ary planning or similar collaborative improvement procedures
- Ongoing monitoring and problem solving

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[1] Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, enacted in 1968, provides grants to school districts to establish programs for limited English proficient students.

Certainly, the general research on effective secondary schools is relevant to our understanding of what can make secondary schools effective for LM students. That is, those characteristics and processes which make secondary schools effective for non-LM students also work to the advantage of LM students.

We know some of the general features of effective secondary schools. But do we know how to adapt these general features to make them appropriate for schools with LM students? Research has provided a glimpse of some of the particulars of effective secondary schools with LM students. My colleagues and I examined six high schools which were successfully promoting the achievement of language minority students—specifically students from Spanish speaking backgrounds (Lucas, Henze, & Donato 1990). We identified eight key features of the six high schools, as presented in Figure I below.

FIGURE 1

Features of High Schools that Promote the Achievement of Language Minority Students*

1. Value is placed on the students' languages and cultures by:

- Treating students as individuals, not as members of a group
- Learning about students' cultures
- Learning students' languages
- Hiring bilingual staff with cultural backgrounds similar to the students'
- Encouraging students to develop their primary language skills
- Allowing students to speak their primary languages
- Offering advanced as well as lower division content courses in the students' primary languages
- Instituting extra-curricular activities that will attract LM students

2. High expectations of language minority students are made concrete by:

- Hiring minority staff in leadership positions to act as role models
- Providing a special program to prepare LM students for college
- Offering advanced and honors bilingual/content-ESL classes in the content areas
- Making it possible for students to exit ESL programs quickly
- Challenging students in class and providing guidance to help them meet the challenge
- Providing counseling assistance (in the primary language if necessary) to help students apply to college and fill out scholarship and grant forms
- Bringing in representatives of colleges and minority graduates who are in college to talk to students
- Working with parents to gain their support for students going to college
- Recognizing students for doing well

3. School leaders make the education of language minority students a priority. These leaders:

- Hold high expectations of LM students
- Are knowledgeable of instructional and curricular approaches to teaching LM students and communicate this knowledge to staff
- Take a strong leadership role in strengthening curriculum and instruction for all students, including LM students
- Are often bilingual minority group members themselves
- Hire teachers who are bilingual and/or trained in methods for teaching LM students

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*Lucas, T., Henze, R., & Donato, R. 1990. *Promoting the Success of Latino Language Minority Students: An Exploratory Study of Six High Schools.* Harvard Educational Review, vol. 60, no. 3, 315-340.

4. Staff development is explicitly designed to help teachers and other staff serve language minority students more effectively. Schools and school districts:

- Offer incentives and compensation so that school staff will take advantage of available staff development programs
- Provide staff development for teachers and other school staff in:
  - —effective instructional approaches to teaching LM students, e.g., cooperative learning methods, content-ESL, and reading and writing in the content areas
  - —principles of second language acquisition
  - —the cultural backgrounds and experiences of the students
  - —the languages of the students
  - —cross-cultural communication
  - —cross-cultural counseling

5. A variety of courses and programs for language minority students is offered:

- Include courses in English as a Second Language and primary language instruction (both literacy and advanced placement) and bilingual and content-ESL courses in content areas.
- Make sure that the course offerings for LM students do not limit their choices or trap them in low level classes. Offer advanced as well as basic courses taught through bilingual and content ESL methods.
- Keep class size small (20-25) in order to maximize interaction.
- Establish academic support programs that help LM students make the transition from ESL and bilingual classes to mainstream classes and prepare them to go to college.

6. A counseling program gives special attention to language minority students through counselors who:

- Speak the students' languages and are of the same or similar cultural backgrounds
- Are informed about post-secondary educational opportunities for LM students
- Believe in, emphasize, and monitor the academic success of LM students.

7. Parents of language minority students are encouraged to become involved in their children's education. Schools can provide and encourage:

- Staff who can speak the parents' languages
- On-campus ESL classes for parents
- Monthly parent nights
- Parent involvement with counselors in the planning of their children's course schedules
- Neighborhood meetings with school staff
- Early morning meetings with parents
- Telephone contacts to check on absent students

8. School staff members share a strong commitment to empowering language minority students through education. This commitment is made concrete through staff who:

- Give extra time to work with LM students
- Take part in a political process that challenges the status quo
- Request training of various sorts to help them become more effective
- Reach out to students in ways that go beyond their job requirements, for example, by sponsoring extra-curricular activities
- Participate in community activities in which they act as advocates for Latinos and other minorities

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The similarity between the eight general features in Figure I and Fullan's list of characteristics and processes is obvious. In fact, Ruiz (1992) has pointed out that these eight features apply to all students if we simply remove the words language minority. While this may be true, we need to make it explicit that these elements are indeed part of effective secondary education for LM students. Because LM students are so frequently perceived as being outside the "regular" population of students, they may be provided with only remedial content courses and minimal support services. In addition, as mentioned above, these general characteristics are manifested differently in schools with LM students than in those without LM students. The study provided some details to illustrate how they were manifested in these schools, some of which are included in the examples listed under each general feature in Figure I. These details helped highlight particular ways of valuing language and culture, expressing high expectations, providing leadership, conceiving of staff development, organizing curriculum and support services, involving family members, and promoting student empowerment to further the success of LM students in secondary schools.

Providing effective education for secondary LM students involves more than just adapting and applying the features of effective secondary schools identified in research. In (re)designing secondary schools to serve LM students, we also need to consider the longevity and pervasiveness of the elements of effective secondary schooling. That is, we need to ask: (1) For how long are the elements of effective schooling present in the educational experiences of LM students? and (2) To what extent do the elements of effective schooling apply across all of the educational experiences of LM students at any point in time? These elements may or may not be present throughout the time of LM students' secondary schooling (e.g., for all 4 years of high school), and they may or may not be present in all of the educational experiences of LM students at any one point in time. Figures II and III illustrate the variations in longevity and pervasiveness of elements of effective schooling in the educational experiences of LM students.

The high school study and two others – the SAIP and capacity building studies mentioned above – have also yielded some insight into elements of contextual factors, structural features, curriculum offerings, instructional approaches, and staff characteristics in sec-

FIGURE II.

Longevity of Elements of Effective Schooling for Language Minority Students

For how long are the elements of effective schooling present in the educational experiences of language minority students?

A Effective elements are not present in LM students' secondary schooling.
(-Longevity)

B Effective elements are temporary (e.g., a special program which incorporates the elements precedes other educational experiences for LM students which do not incorporate the elements).
(- Longevity)

C Effective elements are present throughout the time of LM students' secondary schooling (e.g., for all 4 years of high school).
(+ Longevity)

FIGURE III.

Pervasiveness of Elements of Effective Schooling for Language Minority Students

To what extent do the elements of effective schooling apply across all of the educational experiences of LM students at any point in time?

A Effective elements are not present in the educational experience of LM students.
(-Pervasiveness)

B Effective elements are present in some of the educational experiences of LM students (e.g. in a special program, which coexists with other courses and programs).
(-Pervasiveness)

C Effective elements are present throughout all of the educational experiences of LM students.
(+Pervasiveness)

ondary schools identified as successful with language minority students (see Lucas, forthcoming; Lucas, 1992). As in the high school study, it is the details rather than the generalities of the other studies that offer new ways of thinking about these aspects of secondary schooling for LM students.

Research has shown us many of the shortcomings of U.S. secondary schools. We know that they generally are not successful in engaging students and providing challenging curricula. We also have considerable information about general features of secondary schools which have been identified as effective in one way or another with different types of students. We should draw upon this information in deciding how to change secondary schools to improve the educational achievement of LM students. However, fewer than a handful of these studies have focused on the effectiveness of such schools with LM students. We have begun to see some of the variations on the general themes identified in the literature, but we need to know much more about how these themes and their variations play themselves out in schools that succeed in reaching and educating LM students. In the remainder of this paper, I will examine two of the themes in the literature: the role of the structural framework of secondary schools and comprehensiveness in programs for LM students.

The Structural Framework of Secondary Schools

If we give our full attention to the structure of secondary schools, we discover some disturbing features of the framework that holds the system together. Secondary schools in the U.S. are typically organized according to "pyramidal tiers, with the governing boards and administrators at the peaks and classrooms at the base..." (Sizer, 1992a, p.206). Each day is fragmented into short time blocks requiring students to frequently shift their attention from one narrowly focused subject area to another. The rigidity of secondary schools is manifested not only in this strict adherence to the daily schedule and departmental structure but also in the high degree of staff specialization, in the hierarchical decision-making procedures and leadership structures, and in the isolation of the teaching staff from each other and from administrators. Like Theodore Sizer, many educators now believe that this rigid and fragmented "structure is getting in the way of children's learning" (1992a, p.206) and that "restructuring" is called for.

School restructuring is not an either-or phenomenon. It occurs along a continuum encompassing programs that depart less from the typical structural framework and programs that depart more from that framework. Figure IV illustrates this continuum and lists four key components of the structural framework of secondary schools which have until recently gone largely unexamined: fragmentation, isolation, hierarchy, and specialization.[2]

The nature of these four elements and their relationships to each other are complex. First, each of the elements may be present in a secondary school to a greater or lesser degree.

Second, the extent to which the impact of these elements is negative or positive differs among the four elements and varies according to the specific context under consideration. We should not assume that the more typical framework is always less desirable than the less typical framework. While isolation and fragmentation are not likely to have positive effects on school staff or on students, specialization and hierarchical decision making can have a positive impact in certain situations. For example, until all staff members have substantial skills to work effectively with language minority students, it is desirable for some staff members to have a specialization in bilingual education and/or English language development. Similarly, some localized decisions may be made more efficiently by one person than by a group without undermining collaboration overall. The impact and efficacy of these elements must be considered in each individual context.

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[2] I have synthesized these components from various sources, including Sizer 1992a, Lieberman & Miller, 1986, Corcoran 1990, Johnson, 1990, as well as my own research and experience with secondary schools.

FIGURE IV

Elements of More and Less Typical Secondary School Structural Frameworks

<table>
<tr><th>MORE TYPICAL FRAMEWORK</th><th>LESS TYPICAL FRAMEWORK</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">FRAGMENTATION</td></tr>
<tr><td>• by daily schedule</td><td>• integration of instruction across subjects</td></tr>
<tr><td>• by subject areas</td><td>• scheduling by longer, more flexible time blocks</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">ISOLATION</td></tr>
<tr><td>• no teacher collaboration</td><td>• teacher teams / collaboration</td></tr>
<tr><td>• few opportunities to communicate with administrators and other staff members</td><td>• multiple opportunities to communicate with administrators and other staff members</td></tr>
<tr><td>• little support from administrators</td><td>• active support from administrators</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">HIERARCHY</td></tr>
<tr><td>• top-down decision making</td><td>• shared decision making</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">SPECIALIZATION</td></tr>
<tr><td>• by subject areas</td><td>• integration of subject areas; interdisciplinary teams</td></tr>
<tr><td>• by staff skills</td><td>• individuals use multiple skills</td></tr>
<tr><td>• by roles and responsibilities</td><td>• teachers / staff play multiple roles</td></tr>
</table>

Fragmentation

The secondary school day is divided into short (usually 45- to 55-minute) time blocks with brief periods in between to give students just enough time to get from one room to another, giving a "frenetic quality" (Sizer 1992a, p.79) to the school day. This division of the day into short time units goes hand in hand with the demand that students frequently shift their attention from one "subject" to another as these are "covered" during the short time blocks. The overall effect of these fundamental features of the secondary school is a high degree of fragmentation of time and attention. This fragmentation is even more apparent when secondary schools are compared to elementary schools. In the latter, students remain with one teacher throughout most of the day, and that teacher teaches all or most subject areas. He or she can therefore allocate time more flexibly and can integrate subjects more easily.

The fragmentation of time and subjects may have an even greater impact on LM students than on others. LM students have difficulty with English as well as with the content being presented and many of them are struggling with understanding and adapting to a new and strange educational system. Thus, the superficial coverage of subjects is apt to make it extremely difficult for them to comprehend and digest. More than native English speaking students, they are likely to need more time than the 50-minute lesson to understand what they are being taught, and they are likely to have great difficulty internalizing bodies of ideas that are so seemingly unrelated to each other or to their own lives.

Isolation

Typical secondary schools are also characterized by a high degree of isolation among staff. One of the eleven "workplace conditions" that Corcoran (1990) found in his examination of four surveys of teachers' opinions about their working conditions was that: "Teachers have too few opportunities for interaction with their colleagues" (p.145). The fragmentation and specialization of the secondary school support an environment in which individuals have little time, incentive, or support for collaborating with each other.

In addition to the general isolation of secondary school staff, bilingual/ESL staff are typically also isolated because of their special training and skills and because they work with "special" students. In addition, many bilingual/ESL programs are stigmatized, which means that the staff are demoralized because of their low status and that they have even less contact with non-bilingual/ESL staff than with each other. At the same time, isolation may result from assigning teachers and other staff with specialized skills to work specially with LM students and providing students a safe environment for learning English and adapting to U.S. culture and education. This isolation may have a beneficial effect – e.g., providing staff and students a sense of identity and insuring that LM students' needs are not overlooked. The role of isolation in teacher efficacy and student success is poorly understood. In any case, the need to provide LM students with specialized staff and with safe environments should be carefully considered in light of the potential impact of isolating LM students and the staff who work with them.

Hierarchy

The hierarchical structure of typical secondary schools, which contributes to and is influenced by the specialization and isolation of staff, has been aptly described by Sizer as "pyramidal tiers." Various levels of the pyramid produce mandates of many sorts – some of which make their way "down" to the classroom and student level and some of which do not, some of which make a difference in students' learning and educational experiences and some of which do not, some of which have an impact on teachers' professional lives and some of which do not. The "highest" tiers of the pyramid, the levels where the most far-reaching decisions are made, exist outside of schools themselves. This "heavily bureaucratic, too hierarchical" system leaves little possibility for local decision making and professionalism in schools (Chubb & Moe, 1990). Because of their stigmatized position, bilingual/ESL staff are frequently at the bottom of the secondary school hierarchy. They may be reduced to holding their classes in the gym or in makeshift classrooms. Many are in itinerant, part-time, or temporary positions. They may not be considered part of a department or may be perceived as peripheral to the system and therefore have even fewer opportunities for decision-making and leadership roles than "regular" staff.

Specialization

The sense of fragmentation in typical secondary schools is exacerbated by a high degree of specialization by subject areas taught, by skills staff members are expected to have and to use, and by staff roles and responsibilities. Secondary teachers are identified by subject specialties and are grouped by departments focusing on those subjects. Departments can give teachers a sense of community and collegiality (see Johnson 1990), but they also mitigate against the integration of content in student learning. Attempts to relate subjects to each other are rare.

In addition to having specialized subject area knowledge, staff members are also expected to have and use only certain specialized skills and to take on highly differentiated roles and responsibilities. Teachers teach, counselors counsel, administrators administer. Teachers make decisions about what goes on in their own classrooms – within the parameters established by federal, state, district, and school guidelines and mandates for content coverage, time spent in instructional activities, etc. In some schools, department heads or program directors make decisions about scheduling of teachers and about certain responsibilities within departments and programs. Administrators make almost all of the decisions about how schools are run and organized. The opportunities for making decisions and for playing leadership roles are limited and clearly differentiated according to the skills one is perceived to have and the roles one plays (see Barth 1988; Corcoran 1988; Little 1988). Another layer of specialization is that which reflects the different "special programs" within which teachers and others work. Some teachers teach in Chapter I programs, others in Honors programs, others in special education programs, and others, of course, in bilingual or ESL programs.

Specialization according to staff skills, roles, and responsibilities is an integral part of virtually all programs specially designed for LM students. In many schools, the different people who are responsible for meeting the needs of LM students in different domains have widely varying degrees of knowledge about how to meet their needs. On the one hand, LM students are typically segregated for some portion of each day when they are taught by "specialists" in teaching language minority students. On the other hand, different departments within a secondary school often have responsibility for meeting the needs of LM students in their subject areas, which means that they may be well served in one department and poorly served in another, depending upon the knowledge and interest of the individuals in the departments (Minicucci & Olsen 1991). They may get lots of assistance and feel at home in bilingual or ESL classes, but may be very much on their own in other classes. Like other secondary students, LM students encounter adults who "know a bit about them" but generally have little contact with anyone "who sees them whole" (Sizer 1992a, p.208).

Thoughtfully considered, the fragmentation, isolation, hierarchical structure, and specialization of the typical secondary school seem problematic. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how such a structural framework could work to the advantage of students. It seems "particularly unsuited" to meeting the needs of LM students (Minicucci & Olsen, 1991, p.43). This recognition leads us to ask: What would a non-typical structural framework look like? The right side of the continuum presented in Figure IV offers some possible answers to that question. Let me describe a secondary program for LM students to illustrate some departures from the typical school.

Middle and high schools in a school-within-a-school program in Ft. Worth Independent School District in Texas in 1990 were organized according to interdisciplinary teams, with the LM program staff constituting one team which shared the same students. In one middle school, for example, four teachers and a paraprofessional taught the same one hundred 6th, 7th, and 8th grade students. In addition to having their own preparation periods, they had a common planning period every day to discuss students and to coordinate their teaching. The teachers, each of whom was qualified to teach English language development as well as a subject area, were affiliated with their content area departments in the school and met with those departments as well as with their team. In the morning, students were grouped according to four levels of English proficiency – novice (for students with weak literacy skills in any language as well as very little English ability), beginning, intermediate, and advanced. In the afternoon, they were grouped by grade level for their math, science and social studies classes. One of the teachers was the team leader, acting as a liaison with the principal and district administrators. The team, with the guidance of the team leader, made decisions about scheduling and assigning students to the different program levels as well as about instructional approaches and ways of addressing students' affective needs.

By examining the elements of this program from the perspective on school structure presented in Figure IV, we can get a sense of the extent to which the program design has decreased the degree of fragmentation, isolation, hierarchy, and specialization that characterize the typical secondary school. In fact, the degree of fragmentation was typical: the school day was still fragmented by time and subject matter. However, the structural framework of the program departed from the typical with respect to the other three elements. English language development was integrated with the other subject areas, largely because all of the teachers had preparation for teaching English skills as well as a subject area. They met daily as an interdisciplinary team, reducing the degree of specialization and isolation in the traditional school. They played multiple roles through their dual teaching duties (i.e., English language development and a subject area) and in their work as a team rather than solely as individual teachers. The team leader played other roles as well – as instructional leader and liaison with administrators. There were several opportunities for communicating with colleagues and administrators – team meetings, department meetings, meetings between the team leader and school and district administrators. In addition, the physical setting of this program in a section of the school that had been designed to house the science department lent itself to frequent informal interaction among the staff. Some decision making was shared through the team.

The roles of school and program structural elements in the educational experiences, successes, and failures of LM students are poorly understood, and research in this area is sorely needed. The continuum of elements of more and less typical secondary school structures presented in Figure IV provides both a framework for analysis of structural innovations and a practical guide for examining the extent to which and ways in which those elements are manifested in programs for LM students. This framework can help researchers, policy makers, and practitioners alike to make sense of the plethora of structural innovations being introduced into schools and programs for LM students.

Comprehensiveness of Programs for Language Minority Students

While I have considered the entire high school as the unit of analysis throughout this paper, most approaches to serving LM students at the secondary level are less comprehensive than those that encompass entire schools. In most contexts, LM students' needs are addressed by a program rather than by a school. Such an approach tends to contribute to fragmentation, isolation, hierarchy, and specialization for students and faculty involved. However, given the fact that not all teachers and other school personnel have expertise in working with LM students, providing special classes and programs is an efficient way to insure that LM students receive appropriate instruction and support. With the growing numbers of LM students throughout the country and especially in some areas, such as California, educators are recognizing that all school personnel need such expertise because all of them will come into contact with LM students. Thus, in the future, increasing numbers of teacher education programs will require some preparation for working with LM students.

For now, most secondary schools have only a few staff members who have been prepared to work with LM students and these staff work in special programs. Unfortunately, Minicucci & Olsen (1991) found that "lack of comprehensive program planning" was a shortcoming of most secondary schools in their study. Programs were generally not organized so that different aspects of the programs work together in an integrated way to address many of the educational needs of LM students. Some ways of organizing programs are more comprehensive than others, however.

The least comprehensive organization for secondary schools serving LM students provides special courses within the larger school structure. In these schools, some combination of ESL classes, native language content classes, content ESL classes, and native language development classes (e.g., Spanish for Spanish speakers) for LM students are offered. LM students usually take ESL classes and may also have access to a few other classes, usually depending upon the availability and willingness of teachers to teach them. The number of special classes, the qualifications of the staff who teach them, the content areas covered, and the quality of instruction vary radically from school to school. There is little or no coordination of courses offered. The teachers of these special classes are affiliated only with their subject area departments and may not communicate with each other any more than they communicate with the mainstream staff. While many schools approach the education of LM students in this way (see Minicucci & Olsen, 1991), I know of no schools which have been identified as effective or exemplary which have this structure.[3]

A more comprehensive way to organize programs for LM students is to design a special program within and separate from the larger school structure. Greater attention is given to program design and implementation than in the first type of organization. In the special program, someone is responsible for coordinating the program across subject areas and grade levels. The program usually has a name that gives its staff and students an identity. The degree to which the progam is comprehensive and the extent to which it is autonomous from the mainstream program varies. Some programs offer special courses in all subject areas and have their own full-time administrators and their own building or space within a building, while others offer courses in only some subject areas, are run by a part-time coordinator, and hold classes in various locations within a school facility. In all of these programs, however, the goal is to help LM students become proficient enough in English so that they can be mainstreamed as quickly as possible. Most of the programs that were examined in the high school, SAIP, and capacity building studies were organized as special programs within traditional schools.

In the first two program structures described above, classes or programs for LM students co-exist with larger school structures designed for non-LM students. The norm in these schools is the native English speaker – even if in fact LM students constitute a very large proportion of the student population – and the goal is to see that LM students are "transitioned" into "regular" classes as soon as possible. More comprehensive than these, another type of program structure consists of an entire school designed just for LM students, a school in which the norm is to be a non-native speaker with limited proficiency in English. Within this category, there are two subcategories: (1) schools which LM students attend for a limited period of time before enrolling in a regular school; and (2) schools which LM students can attend for all four years of high school. Because of the longevity of the latter type of school, it is more comprehensive than the former.

Most schools which LM students attend for a limited amount of time are designed specifically for newcomer students–i.e., LM students who have been in the U.S. for a short amount of time (e.g., two years or less).[4] Almost all of these programs provide English language development classes and orientation to U.S. schooling and culture. Many also provide some content classes in students' native languages and/or in English, and some provide native language development classes. The amount of time students may stay in such programs varies. However, since students in most of these programs are linguistically segregated from native English speakers, most school districts require that they be sent to a regular school after a period of time.[5] This program organization makes efficient use of staff and gives recently arrived LM students a chance to become acclimated to U.S. schools and culture in a safe environment before being thrust into a regular high school. Because the program is temporary in the experience of each student, and the degree to which students' subsequent experiences support their learning and growth can vary considerably, this type of program is not as comprehensive as it might appear at first glance.

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[3] Although the perspective I am taking here looks at programs at one point in time, I acknowledge that programs do change. A program which initially reflects this smattering of courses for LM students may evolve into a more cohesive and comprehensive program in response to any number of influences – e.g., increasing numbers of LM students, the arrival of new staff at school and/or district levels, the infusion of money, community activism. Longitudinal studies of schools and districts as they evlove in their responses to LM students are needed.

[4] For more information on Newcomer Centers, see: Chang, H.N., 1990; Friedlander, 1991; and Multifunctional Resource Center/Northern California, 1991.

[5] The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) issued a memorandum on December 4, 1990 indicating several factors which OCR staff should consider in determining whether Newcomer Centers are in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in programs receiving Federal financial assistance (see Friedlander, 1991 for a list of those factors).

Let me briefly describe a school in which the program for LM students is temporary. In 1991 LM students could attend Newcomer High School in the San Francisco Bay Area for only six months before they had to enroll in a regular district high school, vocational school, or community college. To attend the school, students could not have been in the U.S. for more than two years. The school offered four levels of ESL classes and native language content classes in Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipino and Cambodian. Preliterate students with no proficiency in English took a two-semester orientation course which taught them about the school, the neighborhood, the city and the surrounding area as well as providing practice in basic communication skills and access to some information about U.S. culture.

I am aware of only one school devoted entirely to LM students which they can attend for all four years of high school. International High School, located in New York City, is a comprehensive high school specifically for LM students that was established in 1985. It is one of two alternative high schools located on the campus of a community college, the other school having been previously designed for students who were at-risk of dropping out. In 1990, when my colleagues and I visited the school, students were admitted based on years of U.S. residency (fewer than four years was required), low scores on a standardized test (below the 21st percentile on the Language Assessment Battery), and/or recommendation by junior high school guidance counselors. The school's students had full access to all the facilities of the community college and could enroll in college courses if they were proficient enough in English. Since the entire school was designed and implemented only for LM students and since LM students could attend for all four years of high school, the program was comprehensive.

Reorganizing an entire school for LM and non-LM students can also provide a high degree of comprehensiveness for the LM program if the needs and interests of LM students are given equal consideration to those of non-LM students in planning the new structures.[6] The process another high school in New York City went through in reorganizing and the outcome of that reorganization illustrate both this comprehensiveness and some elements of a more atypical school structure represented in Figure IV.[7]

The school first established a special program for LM students within the larger school and then restructured the entire school for non-LM students as well as LM students. The first Title VII project that the school received had helped set up a bilingual program which took the form of a "mini school"—a smaller, more personal program within the larger high school similar to the school-within-a-school program in Texas described above. All LM students were placed in this program and all ESL and bilingual content area teachers taught within this department. The "mini school" provided the staff development and coordination for a wide variety of services for LM students. From the beginning, the bilingual program concerned itself with all aspects of a student's life—academic, emotional and social—and developed an integrated approach to meeting the needs of LM students.

In fact, the "mini school" concept was so successful in meeting students' affective needs that it caught the attention of the rest of the school. As the school struggled to find solutions to its increasingly serious problem of student drop-out, the bilingual program became the model for a schoolwide restructuring effort aimed at developing more personalized, integrated programs for all students in the school. Known as "designated houses," these programs built on the nurturing and sense of identity which was evident in the bilingual "mini school."

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[6] Unfortunately, it appears that most schools in California have not given LM students' needs central consideration in their restructuring plans. (Laurie Olsen, personal communication, 6/92)

[7] I am grateful to Timothy Beard of ARC Associates for the description of this school.

This restructuring shifted services for LM students in the content areas to the academic departments in the school, which, according to school staff, resulted in increased capacity for meeting the needs of LM students in the mainstream program. In 1990-91, staffing in the departments included six bilingual math teachers, six bilingual social studies teachers, four bilingual science teachers, two bilingual business teachers, and two bilingual/ESL aides. Bilingual materials were available in all subject areas. According to several people, LM students were among the top students in the school.

The last two "program" organizations discussed above represent configurations in which the program and the school are indistinguishable. Clearly, this is the most comprehensive approach to (re)designing secondary education for LM students. However, most schools and districts are not yet able to provide enough staff and/or large enough numbers of students to integrate the LM program with the whole school. Thus, the newcomer center or the program within a larger school are more feasible approaches. The latter of these can provide a relatively comprehensive educational experience for LM students if it is thoughtfully planned and implemented, as the description of the program in Texas indicates.

Conclusion

The conceptualizations of secondary school effectiveness, the structural framework of secondary schools, and the degree of comprehensiveness of secondary schools and programs for LM students contributes to the building of a theoretical framework for understanding the substance and structures of secondary programs for LM students both as they exist at given points in time and as they are modified through restructuring. These conceptualizations provide part of a foundation from which we can draw as we decide which changes are likely to make secondary schools more effective for LM students, and as we decide whether we might want to support or institute certain structural changes in schools. In instituting school change at the secondary level, school and district decision-makers need to consider: (1) whether the changes incorporate the elements of effective secondary schooling for LM students over time (i.e., with longevity) and throughout all educational experiences for LM students (i.e., with pervasiveness); (2) whether the activities and relationships inherent in the structures they are proposing are likely to increase or decrease the degrees of fragmentation, specialization, isolation, and hierarchy within schools; (3) if they are likely to increase any of these elements, whether there are benefits to be derived from these increases; and (4) whether those activities and relationships promote or hinder the comprehensiveness of approaches to educating LM students.

Despite the apparent consensus that change is needed at all levels in U.S. schools and the "plentiful rhetoric" about school restructuring, "the restructuring movement has yet to touch the mass of American schools in any significant way" (Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools, 1992, p.6). The consensus and rhetoric give us the opportunity to make substantial changes. With a foundation of knowledge and a vision of the kind of education we would like to provide, we can make reasoned and reasonable decisions about changing secondary schools in ways that will truly work to the benefit of all students, including language minority students.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank Ana Maria Villegas, Rosemary Henze, and Hugh Mehan for their comments on earlier drafts of this article.

DISCUSSION

Hugh Mehan

There is a theme to my thoughts in reaction to these two papers, and that theme is vigilance. Although we're in an exciting time because of the provocative possibilities of restructuring schools, we have to be vigilant about the effects of restructuring on students, especially language minority students. I'm reminded of Jefferson's comment that the key to democracy is vigilance, I think this is particularly true in our considerations now. We have to be on guard so that, in the name of reform, we don't just recapitulate the existing structures of stratification and discrimination within the existing school system.

I think both Laurie and Tamara are right in saying we can't automatically assume that changes are good for language minority students. We have to examine those practices in detail, in the practical circumstances of particular students in particular school settings. For example, cooperative learning is a great panacea, but I think we have to examine it carefully to make sure that it is good for students in particular settings and in particular times. It may not be that all ethnic groups benefit equally, not all language minority students benefit naturally from an activity such as cooperative learning. Although it is very popular now, and promising, it's time to push ourselves to look at it in particular detail.

We must also look at authentic assessment. I've been involved in the critique of IQ tests, achievement tests, bubble tests and the rest for a long time. I applaud the move away from those efforts to something like authentic assessment, but I think we have to examine what authentic assessment does for students whose writing skills may be different from the underlying assumptions of what an authentic assessment or a portfolio assessment technique might be.

I think the key to both of these examples, is that all school practices, whether they be the traditional ones we've had for hundreds of years or the new ones we're introducing in the name of reform, innovation and change, require students to be socialized into a new set of practices.

I'm particularly struck by the idea that underlying reform today is the return to the universal student idea which many people have been arguing against for some time. This is one of those unintended consequences of the reform movement, that all students are going to be treated as a general, universal student, and the particularities and the variability across groups may get washed out, to the detriment of students.

Laurie pointed out something I hadn't thought about before, but I think it needs to be underlined. The move to authentic assessment is going to make it hard to aggregate data in just the areas that we need to be aggregating data. Authentic assessment is a radically particularistic assessment technique. The construction of a portfolio tells you lots of wonderful things about the development of an individual child against his or her own standard, but it's going to make it very difficult to look across kids for the purposes of keeping track of how things are going for groups of students that we think may be marginalized or rendered powerless by the school system.

A minor example of this is in the San Diego school system which is going to take off ethnic designations from their school records. When that designator goes off, it's going to be very difficult to keep track of kids by the very categories that we, here at this conference, see as important. So again, another issue of vigilance.

Another theme in these papers I think is provocative, is questioning what counts as success in these reform efforts, and how do we go about measuring success?

The restructuring movement is, for the most part, looking at the school as an institution in and of itself, with the exception that the school's connections to parents and certain aspects of the surrounding community are being considered. That is a distinct improvement. But in many ways the restructuring movement, especially as it deals with language minority students, is not looking at the "surround" of the school, especially the socio-economic conditions in the neighborhoods surrounding many of the schools that are undergoing restructuring. The school is being treated as a self-contained institution. This view can overlook some of the compelling socio-economic and sociocultural constraints that come into schools on the backs of the children. I'm thinking of some port-of-entry schools in San Diego where as many as 19 languages are spoken, and where kids will move in and out of that school three or four times during the year. The teachers in the schools have what they call "Nordstrom's racks" in the gym, because the kids are coming to school with clothes that are so tattered that instead of sending them home, they just change the clothes. They have washers and driers on the school property to take care of these kids. I mean, you can rearrange the furniture inside the school an awful lot, but unless we have mechanisms set up to deal with the socio-economic conditions, we are not going to be dealing with the whole problem. This is a set of issues that reorganizing and giving teachers autonomy and decision-making is not really going to deal with. Attempts to do collaborative linkages with health care delivery activities involving a number of public agencies that are dealing not only with the interior of the school, but also with the life of the child and the life of the child's family in a more comprehensive form are essential. There is an effort underway in San Diego called New Beginnings that has as its ideology the attempt to reorganize the delivery of services to impacted families in a way that is more comprehensive, uniform and efficient. Their logic is that if you can handle the health and social issues about children and their families before they come to school, there might be a better chance for the education occuring within the school to have a greater effect.

One of the things that makes American public schools so complicated is that we're trying to achieve two things simultaneously—the equity agenda and the excellence agenda. We are trying to ensure that each individual student achieves to the best of his or her ability, and to make sure that everybody has equal access. If we were trying to do just one or the other, we'd have no problem, and that's really the contrast to the European system. But I'm worried, frankly, that the discussion we're having here may be being outflanked by the big, mainstream, reform proposal issues like charter schools, the voucher plan, and tech prep activity. I think we really have to turn our attention to those issues as well.

Steve Jubb

One thing that's really important to remember is that it's easier to be a critic than it is to be a critical friend. That is to say, it's easier to see what's wrong than it is to see what's wrong and actually help somebody right it. Many of the schools that are restructuring are working from this ideal state, and it's more radical than you might think. But remember, there are many people at a school; they form many, many subgroups and everybody has a little piece of what they think they're headed towards. It takes time and its a process. Once they begin to act, then you have to correct. And that's why the comments about collecting the data is so important. I guess one of the reasons I'm here is because I hope that you'll play a role as a vigilant friend to the folks in public schools who really, now more than ever, need your help, your research, your techniques and all that you know to turn restructuring into something that can begin to address the needs of kids in a way that will be lasting.

Sheltered English for Teaching Content

Session Abstract

Barry McLaughlin opened the session by posing a series of questions to panelists: What constitutes a sheltered approach? When are sheltered programs the otpimal instructional strategy? Are there differences between Sheltered English instruction and content based ESL? What training do teachers need to deliver effective sheltered instruction?

Rosalia Salinas defined "sheltered instruction" as grade-level content instruction in English designed for non-native speakers who have reached an intermediate level of English proficiency. It is not a program in itself, but part of a comprehensive program that must be combined with primary language instruction for non-English speakers. It is not watered down content; it is not a substitute for English language development; it is not a substitute for primary language support and development. Salinas added that teachers need strong content knowledge to teach sheltered instruction, and knowledge of second language acquisition and scaffolding techniques. Finally, they need to be child advocates because most likely they will be teaching in schools which do not have comprehensive programs for LEP students.

Shelly Spiegel-Coleman remarked that there is a strong knowledge base on which to design comprehensive programs for LEP students in secondary schools. In the ideal program, each student would receive English language development that is age- and grade-appropriate, delivered by qualified and trained staff; each student would receive instruction in the district's core curriculum; each LEP student diagnosed to receive it would receive academic instruction through primary language; and, all students should receive instruction which promotes a positive self-image and cross cultural understanding. Sheltered instruction must be viewed as one strategy within such a framework, as a bridge between primary language instruction and placement in mainstream English.

Aida Walqui underscored Spiegel-Coleman and Salinas' remarks, and provided a model for comprehensive middle and high school programs based upon the principles outlined in the session.

All agreed that sheltered instruction is not a whole reform or program in itself, but must be combined with primary language content instruction and ESL.

Donna Christian and Debby Short ended the session by describing a study currently being designed by the Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington D.C.) which is surveying schools about the use of content based ESL.

Session Description

Panel Chair:
BARRY MCLAUGHLIN,
Co-Director, National Center for Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning

Panelists:
SHELLEY SPIEGEL-COLEMAN,
Los Angeles County Office of Education
ROSALIA SALINAS,
San Diego County Office of Education
DONNA CHRISTIAN, Center for Applied Linguistics
AIDA WALQUI, Stanford University
DEBBY SHORT, Center for Applied Linguistics

Barry McLaughlin

This panel on Sheltered English (or sheltered content instruction) was designed to highlight the state of knowledge about sheltered approaches, to assess the state of the field of practice, and to propose research and policy.

In many cases, Sheltered English at the secondary level is being chosen as the default program. If a school doesn't have bilingual teachers, or if a school simply doesn't know what else to do, the tendency throughout the country is increasingly to create Sheltered English courses. In many cases, however, there is a poor understanding of sheltered pedagogy, of which students should be placed in sheltered classes, and of the appropriate training to provide to teachers of these classes.

In general, the features characteristic of effective teaching for LEP students have been well identified in the research literature. They include: use of the home language to communicate content; deviations from a recitation script in which the teacher asks a question, the students respond and the teachers evaluate the response; student initiated classroom discourse is the basis of classroom interaction; high levels of student participation occur; high time on task; and high skill levels developed and demanded.

Within the context of the above characteristics, the specific rationale for Sheltered English grew out of the writings of Stephen Krashen, who argued that the way for a student to learn a second language is the way the child learns her first language—by listening, by focusing on meaning, by absorbing comprehensible input. All pedagogy, perhaps, can differ a great deal from the original design as to how it is understood and implemented in practice. The characteristics popularly understood about Sheltered English are that students are grouped in an English taught classroom separate from and "sheltered" from monolingual English speakers; teachers use slowed speech, simplified speech (vocabulary and syntax), strong visual supports, activity orientation and repetition, the use of body language, and content is kept concrete. From the research perspective, there's a problem in that this pedagogy, as popularly interpreted in the field, hasn't been shown to have much of an effect on language acquisition. The "motherese" hasn't been shown to relate causally to language development in the classroom.

In practice, it seems that there are many meanings and understandings of the term "Sheltered English." Some of the questions I pose for the panel are: What constitutes a sheltered approach? What is the nature of the sheltered approach? When are sheltered programs the optimal instructional strategy? Another issue for us to examine is whether there are regional differences in the sheltered approach: Are there differences between what is labeled "Sheltered English" in California and "Content Based ESL" on the east coast?

In the Berman Weiler study contrasting LEP program models, including content based ESL and sheltered English, we learned that "models" wasn't written with a large M but a small m; there's often a merging of the models and a development of hybrid approaches. It was very hard to say whether a specific program was a model of a particular approach. In the sheltered approach, we found bilingual classes in the morning and Sheltered English in the afternoon. We found Sheltered English classes in which the primary language was used often for clarifications. However, the purity issue aside, we found that each instructional model had both positives and negatives. The sheltered approach appeared to be a good solution to problems of student grouping and placement when a school enrolls many language groups without a high concentration of any one. When languages shift in a school, Sheltered English allows access to core content, despite the fact that primary language teachers may not be available at that school for the specific languages represented by students. On the other hand, sheltered approaches evidently require a good deal of teacher training and understanding to be effective. But the specifics are undefined to date. What training should teachers have in the sheltered approach? What certification, if any, should Sheltered English teachers have?

The other concern raised from our observations was a sense that when language is simplified for students, the content is also simplified. To our research team, it appeared that the skill level in Sheltered English was lower than in some of the other classes, especially some of the bilingual classes. The final question I put to this panel is: How are these problems to be overcome?

Rosalia Salinas

For the past six to eight years, the term "Sheltered English" has been buzzing throughout the field, with little understanding of what it really is. In San Diego we have been very fortunate because we have been working with Aida Walqui to really explore and develop a sheltered pedagogy. In Barry's introduction to the panel today, he talked about some of the negatives of Sheltered English. It was precisely those concerns that triggered our asking Aida for help. The simplifying of context; the slowing of speech; the idea of repeating—

those are the very things that, when I used to hear about Sheltered English, would make me say, "When are the kids going to get to the part where they learn—learn real stuff?" So two or three years ago, we brought a group of teachers together: bilingual directors, resource teachers, classroom teachers— and we all agreed that we were not happy with the present definition of Sheltered English. We said, why don't we make our own definition?

The definition we developed is: "Sheltered instruction is grade-level content instruction in English, designed for non-native speakers who have reached an intermediate level of English proficiency." Sheltered instruction is not a program in and of itself, but is part of a comprehensive program that must be combined with primary language instruction for those who are non English speakers or at beginning levels of English. As our group met, we also realized that we needed to define what it's not. Sheltered instruction is not watered down content; it's not a substitute for English language development and instruction (students still need English as a Second Language instruction); and it's not a euphemism for submersion. Sheltered instruction is not an excuse to avoid the primary language support and development that is needed. And, sheltered instruction is not substituting simplified versions for simple accounts.

What are the aims? Sheltered instruction is appropriate to teaching academic skills and content, to developing English fluency, and to promoting instrinsic motivation and learner autonomy. The prerequisites? Sheltered instruction is for the threshold level, that is

Sheltered Instruction as Differentiated from Content Based ESL

	CONTENT BASED ESL	SHELTERED INSTRUCTION
Goal:	Development of overall communicative competence (BICS and CALP)	Teaching of Mainstream Curriculum
Student Population:	Non-native speakers	Non-native speakers
Content Determined by:	Analysis of Communicative needs	Frameworks
Language Proficiency of Students:	All levels	Minimal: Intermediate. Council of Europe's Threshold Level.
Teachers:	ESL	Grade level subject matter, properly trained. ESL with commitment to study the subject matter.
Other Requirements:	Thematically designed; experiential; development of social and academic language.	L1 literacy; continuation of L1 development; scaffolding/into-through-beyond/thematic; cyclical; concurrent with ESL.
Academic Demands:	Watering down is necessary; especially designed texts; focus on "how to do things with words".	No watering down; language-rich environment; demanding and stimulating; focus on skills and content.
Books:	ESL textbooks that include social language and cross-curricular topics.	Regular textbooks used by mainstream students.
Evaluation Focus:	English language skills and functions.	Content and academic skills mastery.

the intermediate level of proficiency and literacy in English. Students need to have primary language proficiency and primary language literacy as a base. The aims and prerequisites mark sheltered instruction as different from content based ESL. How do we put together a professional development program that addresses all of these things? We need to have content teachers who know their science, who know their math, who know their social science. They have to add to that subject matter a knowledge of second-language acquisition and all of the scaffolding techniques to build comprehension. They also need to be student advocates, because once they get all this information and all these skills themselves, they are going to be faced with that reality when they go back to that high school Monday morning. Most likely their high school will not have a comprehensive program in place or have the prerequisites in place. To be an effective teacher of language-minority students, you have to be an advocate. It isn't appropriate to teach sheltered instruction classes when the rest of the comprehensive program is not in place. A comprehensive program should address the needs of non-English speaking students from intermediate fluency to full fluency. A comprehensive program should use primary language for the beginning levels, transition to sheltered instruction and then into full English mainstream courses.

Shelley Spiegel-Coleman
from the L.A. County Office of Education

I'd like to speak to a different set of issues. I think the field has a lot more answers than you might guess from Barry's introduction. For the last 5 – 7 years, the Bilingual Education Office in the State Department of Education and their partners throughout the state have solidified some basic principles for schooling language-minority students which can be interpreted as educational directions and have implications from pre-kindergarten all the way through adult education. We have a theoretical framework that has been used by schools which are serious about restructuring around the needs of language-minority students as a basis for change. Schools need to start by knowing what language-minority students need if they are to develop first-language and second-language proficiency. Then they need to take that knowledge and convert it into practice—to say, "How would that look at my school site?"

We do know from the work of Jim Cummins and Steve Krashen that there are some basic principles for schooling language-minority students. In the ideal program:

- Each LEP student receives English language development instruction that is age and grade appropriate and is tailored to the student's English language proficiency level. This instruction is delivered by qualified, trained staff with sufficient and appropriate materials.
- Each LEP student receives instruction in the district's core curriculum.
- Each LEP student diagnosed to require it receives academic instruction through the primary language.
- In addition to English language development and academic core curriculum, all students should receive instruction which promotes a positive self image and cross cultural understanding.

Such a program provides primary language for early stages of English fluency, specially designed English instruction (sheltered instruction) at intermediate levels and is mainstreamed into English classes as they become more advanced. I find it interesting that the issue of primary language instruction has almost never surfaced in this discussion. Yet clearly, it must be on the agenda. It is a necessary, essential cornerstone of a comprehensive program.

School sites—principals, department chairs (who are very key) and teachers—need initially to identify a framework for what language-minority students need from the day they first walk into the school not speaking one word of English, to the time they have reached ultimate fluency in two languages. And it must take into account their educational backgrounds—both their language proficiency and their formal education. The research is clear that material that is extremely demanding and has a high cognitive load—which is true of most secondary school curriculum—needs to be taught to students through their primary language. Sheltered, or a non-native approach to content, is simply not appropriate with students who don't speak a word of English, unless it's material that can be so concretely embedded in content that it is not hard to understand with direct language.

In the framework that many of us have worked with for years, as the students develop more English language proficiency, more of the content can be delivered in a "sheltered approach"; a non-native approach. Sheltered approaches do not serve a purpose for students who do not have enough English to deal with serious content. In my understanding, it then becomes content-based ESL, not sheltered instruction. Sheltered instruction works when students have enough English that they can deal with rigorous, serious content that is not dumbed down or watered down. It is delivered in a manner that is sensitive to the linguistic needs of the students. So I see sheltered instruction as a bridge between primary language instruction and mainstream English, native-like instruction. Content-based ESL is an approach to developing English language fluency, but the content learning is compromised.

What we already know about the absence of primary language support at the secondary level with rigorous content being delivered is absolutely compelling. To consider programs in which the students' home language is not used is more than a tragedy, it's an absolute travesty. We know this, and need to see that our knowledge is acted upon.

Sheltered instruction is one piece of a total program; it's not a whole program and it's not a whole reform. Within the context of a comprehensive secondary school structure, we need to look at where sheltering can contribute, where can it have the best impact. But what we really need is a broader framework; one that looks at students who don't speak a word of English all the way up to proficiency, and one that's at the front of the reform initiatives, not a tack-on or something that never surfaces.

Aida Walqui

Teacher at Alisal High School, Salinas.

I have been a teacher of sheltered classes for the last six years. In my previous life, I was a sociolinguist. And in my future life, I'm going to be a researcher. I have just started on my doctoral program at Stanford precisely because I am so committed to the idea of sheltered instruction, and to the idea that it can be an exciting component of a larger program. In order for real reform to take place, it must come not only from the top down, but be built from the bottom up. One thing that amazed me in my work with teachers and practitioners is that 98% were in total agreement about sheltered approaches, although we had been working in isolation.

The chart on the facing page shows what a comprehensive middle and high school program for limited English speaking students ideally looks like. We always have to work on the vision of the ideal, assess what is possible right now, and figure out strategies to get to that ideal. What we're talking about here is that in year one of the arrival of a non-English speaking student at the middle or high school level, the student gets two hours of ESL (content-based ESL which includes vocabulary and concepts which are the basis of math, science, history). We do this understanding that the focus is on English development, and that the teacher will need to water down the concepts. That's why this is considered an ESL class and not a sheltered content class. Then, the student receives primary language development, which, for example, could be Spanish for Spanish speakers. They will also receive math, science, and social studies in the primary language. Now the second year, this student once again has two periods of ESL content-based instruction, and begins to receive sheltered instruction in math and science. Primary language development is still there, because we also believe very strongly that bilingualism needs to be additive, rather than subtractive. By the third year in school, students are mainstreamed into math and science, but still sheltered in literature and social studies. Primary language development is still present. By the fourth year of instruction, everything (apart from primary language development) is taught in English.

This is important because unless a person has a threshold level of proficiency in the language, a teacher cannot really give him or her full access to a curriculum that is rich and rigorous—the kind of curriculum that really engages and fosters critical thinking and critical interaction. That threshold level of proficiency needs to be there for our students. If they don't have it, a teacher can still talk about interesting things, but will be simplifying the concepts, and the kind of critical thinking that can be expressed at that level will also be simplified. Now of course, that is okay and even necessary in the ESL classes in which the point is to develop English fluency, but it shouldn't be confused with thinking we are teaching rigorous content.

Middle and High School Students Optimal Programs

Year 1	ESL (Content Based Instruction)	Language L1	Math L1	Science L1	Social Studies L1
Year 2	ESL	Language L1	Math-Sheltered	Science-Sheltered	Social Studies L1
Year 3	Sheltered Literature	Language L1	Math-English	Science-English	Social Studies-Sheltered
Year 4	Language L1	ENGLISH			

When We Cannot Have the Ideal Program for Middle and High School Students

Year 1	Newcomer Class + Content Based ESL (+ Community L1)					
Year 2	ESL		Sheltered Instruction (Science and Math) (+ L1)			
Year 3	Sheltered Literature and Social Studies		English (+ L1)			
Year 4						(+L1)

To go back to the issue of simple language: It seems such an absurd proposition that if you are trying to convey sophisticated concepts or get your students to discuss sophisticated issues, language should be narrowed down to very simple levels. In fact, you and I understand each other basically because built into our interactions, there is a lot of redundancy. If it wasn't for redundancy, can you imagine how absolutely exhausted we would all be? I mean, this would be empty! If every word that every presenter had uttered today was the only word conveying meaning; if it had been narrowed down to being the only means of conveying their intent, we would have been gone by 10:00. Really. Natural redundancy is extremely important in everyday communication. When we propose, with the very best of intentions, to simplify language, delete all those adjectives, and remember not to have any compound, complex sentences—what we are doing is cutting off from our language precisely the clues that will help our students be able to reconstruct knowledge.

A good part of sheltered instruction, relies on what Vygotsky refers to as the zone of proximal development. Children, our students, have a zone of self-regulation in which they are perfectly competent. They can perform because they have internalized, and they have an unconscious voice that guides them. The process is totally unconscious. The way you and I, for example, talk about those things we know so well—we don't even have to monitor the way in which we talk. But surrounding that zone of self-regulation, according to Vygotsky, is a zone of proximal development in which the child can perform with the guidance of an adult (Vygotsky uses the phrase, "the more capable peer"). And so the child can move—in fact, the child must move. The only good learning is that which goes in advance of development. In other words, if we are teaching our students within the zone of self-regulation, there's no teaching, there's no learning. We're just moving in circles. That is precisely what I think is so wrong about this idea of Sheltered English and comprehensible input. If teachers are going to cut down what they're saying to their students, then obviously there's no movement forward.

Now how do we go about getting students to interact in the zone of proximal development? For that, I have borrowed Rudner's idea of scaffolds. I know that the metaphor of scaffolds has been attacked by some people, because they say, Well, it's the teacher who builds these support mechanisms, and it's the teacher always doing things. I don't think it needs to be that way. The ideal scaffolds are support mechanisms that teachers build in order to enable their students to perform at higher levels than they are right now. These scaffolds are not there forever. Therefore, built into the concept of scaffolding is the idea of handing responsibility over to the learners for the kinds of actions they engage in. That is why I find it so appropriate. A good part of that scaffolding is scaffolding for interaction.

Metacognitive development is tremendously important. For example, as you go about teaching students how to read critically, it is not only important to share the kinds of strategies that will enable them to move through a text, building their understanding in collaboration with others, but also to teach them to verbalize those procedures. Why must students verbalize those procedures? For example, they say, "Oh, we're going to do a reciprocal teaching here." I say, "What are you going to do with each other?" "First, we'll do this, and then, he'll ask me a question, and then I will answer," etc. Why is that? Because central to the idea of self-regulation is the fact that the child doesn't need to think about those rules in self-regulation. He doesn't need to think, How do I do it? In this area, there is a voice telling him, "This is how you do it." But in the border area, in which the child is expanding his zone of self-regulation and invading that zone of proximal development, a voice coming from outside of the child is needed. We have adapted to our version of sheltered instruction the idea that for children, it's important first to think, "OK, I have a problem. Now, what do I do? Yes, I can do this. First this, then that." That is a stage of moving into total self-regulation.

Sheltered instruction, if it is one of the components of a program in which the validation and development of the primary language and the original culture is present, is one that will allow children to truly become not only excellent autonomous learners, but excellent bilingual and bicultural individuals that our society needs so badly.

Thank you.

Human Relations in Multicultural Secondary Schools

Session Description

Convener:
BERYL NELSON, Berman/Weiler Associates

Panelists:
LAURIE OLSEN,
Executive Co-Director California Tomorrow
HELEN CHANG, Teacher, Oakland CA
CHIA VASQUEZ, Youth Worker

Panelists discussed ways to meet the needs of immigrant students in secondary schools from a human relations perspective. Laurie Olsen provided a context and framework for looking at issues of intergroup relations in schools. Helen Chang followed, speaking from her personal experience as a teacher about the relationships between Asian and other students in her inner city high school and about faculty relations across ethnic groups. Chia Vasquez concluded the panel with her perspectives on the issues in the lives of immigrant students based upon her experience working with immigrant gang adolescents.

Olsen opened her presentation by focusing on the political climate affecting relations between immigrant and established U.S. communities. Anti-immigrant sentiment is on the rise and constitutes the general climate in which immigrant teenagers meet their U.S.-born peers within secondary schools. Olsen spoke of three levels of concern: overt conflict, violence and tension on school campuses; social and institutional separation between immigrant and U.S.-born students; and the conflict students feel from being caught between two worlds as they live in a society that insists on assimilation as a bottom line for acceptance. Olsen addressed the challenge schools must meet in building capacity and the will to address these issues institutionally and design appropriate interventions.

A number of programmatic intervention models are used in schools throughout California. However, they differ widely in their analysis of what causes intergroup tensions, the strategies they use to improve intergroup relations, and the language they use to label and speak about their work. Olsen offered a typology for understanding these approaches by identifying nine different focus areas for work on intergroup relations: helping students develop more personal awareness and communication skills; creating strong communities of learners within classrooms and schools which emphasize social responsibility and group work; teaching students the skills of conflict resolution; helping students unravel personal prejudices and stereotypes; engaging students in recognizing and analyzing institutionalized oppression; creating ways for students to become active participants and social activists in working to change discriminatory policies; creating forums in which students can gather with others who share their common experiences as "minorities" in a "majority" setting; providing multicultural curricula which teach about human relations in other times, places and cultures; and finally, reviewing the programs and structures of the schools themselves to ensure that they do not contribute to separation and discriminatory outcomes. Olsen ended with the rhetorical question: "Are schools able and willing to do what is necessary to create within themselves democratic communities in which human relations can surmount the forces of racism and xenophobia that operate to keep us apart?"

Helen Chang spoke first about the socially segregated dynamics among faculty in high schools, and the contradictory messages students receive from teachers who preach integration but will not themselves choose to mix with people of other ethnic groups. Her presentation described the almost daily incidence of tensions and harassment between ethnic groups which occur on most high school campuses. Students tend not to report them, and most faculty members consequently seem unaware of the extent of the problem.

Chang spoke of the important role of ethnic clubs in providing places of support for students.

Chia Vasquez then shared her experiences working with Latino gang members in the Bay Area. The key conflicts operating in the lives of these kids, she believes, are rooted in their being caught between two cultures. The pain of lost identity underlies much of the violence she saw in their lives. Vasquez' work with gang members helps them examine their own cultural worlds and values, and helps them recognize that they make choices about what values they will carry into the world. Focusing upon their own definition and discovery of what is loved and worthwhile about their home cultures, and their right and ability to "carry that torch", Vasquez feels, can bring immigrant adolescents strengthening and healing that gives them choices other than to engage in violence.

The discussion focused primarily on the importance and difficulty of training teachers to deal with intergroup relations issues. Several participants underscored the discomfort they see when teacher credential candidate students are asked even to discuss issues of culture, language and race. There was general consensus that any approach to intergroup relations must begin with the adults in the school reflecting on their own experiences and roles in shaping the intergroup relations of their students.

PRESENTATION BY LAURIE OLSEN

Olsen opened the presentation by speaking about the current political climate affecting relations between immigrant and established U.S. communities. This climate includes intensified anti-immigrant sentiment, such as Governor Pete Wilson's welfare reform initiative, which is based upon conclusions that the state's economic woes are due to a "rising foreign immigrant population" boosting the ranks of tax receivers. Other indicators are the Federation for American Immigration Reform's renewed campaign to freeze immigration (claiming it strains social services, increases unemployment and heats up urban tensions); a recent Roper Poll, which found that 78% of Californians view immigrants as a source of financial burden to the state; and a national Harris Poll which showed that 68% of Americans feel immigration is bad for the country.

Olsen pointed out that bad economic times historically have fed nativist thinking and anti-immigrant campaigns. Swift demographic changes in the racial and ethnic composition of a society also stir up tremendous anxiety and struggle over who belongs and who doesn't. Clearly, this is one of those times.

These dynamics frame human relations in multicultural schools—and both teachers and teenagers are not immune to the general attitudes of the public and media. The problematics of cultural, linguistic and racial mixing become particularly profound for students in secondary schools. In many communities, neighborhood elementary schools are far more homogeneous than the middle and high schools into which they feed. So it is in the secondary schools where students really confront the issues of ethnic and racial identity, of loyalty to a group, and are taught to recreate social hierarchies of race, language and cultural identity. It is in secondary schools and adolescent years that a young person's linguistic, cultural, and ethnic identity is forged, as they deal with a complex set of issues, from the developmental quest for adult identity to the intensification of peer group influences, to emerging issues of sexuality and concerns about who is an appropriate mate.

Olsen directed attention to four areas of concern in analyzing the status of human relations in multicultural schools:

- Overt levels of conflict, violence and tension
- Status quo of separation (both social and institutional)
- Conflict students feel when caught between two worlds—when a world around them insists on assimilation as the bottom line for acceptance
- The ability of secondary schools to address these issues and design appropriate interventions

Overt Levels of Conflict, Violence and Tension

In the research Olsen conducted for *Crossing the Schoolhouse Border,* 50% of the middle school students and close to 70% of the high school immigrant students reported severe tensions or problems when asked to characterize the relations between racial/ethnic groups, and between immigrants and others at their schools. Close to half of the high school students and a fourth of the middle school students also reported splits within immigrant groups based on length of time in the U.S. and degree of assimilation. In the four years since that research was done, there is some evidence that the situation has intensified. According to a report from the Attorney General's office, hate crimes have increased in this state—with anti-immigrant incidents on school campuses increasing the fastest.

Unfortunately, since the issuance of its report two years ago, the Attorney General's office (undergoing a change in leadership) has abandoned its efforts to collect documentation of the incidence of hate crimes. Two years ago the California legislature passed the Watson bill, which would require localities to count hate crimes and report their statistics to the Department of Justice for a final report back to the legislature in 1992. The money was never appropriated. In the past year, with the fiscal crunch and reorganization in the State Department of Education, the School Climate Unit—which at one time would have kept on top of this issue—was also disbanded.

Status Quo of Separation: Social and Institutional

On the second issue, which Olsen called the "status quo of separation: social and institutional," the patterns are what most would expect. The great majority of high school students "hang out" with others of their own ethnicity and language group. On secondary school campuses, there are definite territories—areas claimed by specific ethnic/racial groups. There may be a few social groups in which mixing occurs, but the general pattern is one of ethnically defined groups. Immigrants hang out on their own; their social acceptance is related to how Americanized they are.

Research also shows that the longer immigrant students are in ESL classes, the longer they remain social strangers on campus and distant from the central life of the school. Whatever their national origins, the newcomers—marked by distinctive classes, accents and appearance—are the least accepted members of the ethnic mix. Competence in English is the first major key to acceptance. Being LEP is a social disability, and the ensuing social separation also reflects an *institutional* separation.

We are familiar with the systems that support this separation: the hidden curriculum which groups students ostensibly by ability and aspiration but results in separating them largely by race, culture and English-speaking agility. We are also familiar with the curriculum which continues to marginalize the experiences and cultures of non-white students, and makes differential placements in GATE, in Advanced Placement, and the implementation of discipline systems. We may be less aware of the effects of the increased use of sheltered content classes, which group LEP students with other LEP students for most of their school day. LEP students *are* separated—institutionally and socially—and the message this drives home is that their language is unacceptable. Their accents and foreign ways subject them to remaining outside. To be accepted, to be acceptable, LEP students have to give up a great deal of themselves. The message of our schools is clearly continuing to be one of assimilation to a white American model. This leads to the third major area of concern.

The Struggle for Students Caught Between Two Worlds

To illustrate what it *means* to be an adolescent immigrant—or the bridge generation—in secondary schools, Olsen showed a ten-minute video of students discussing living in the borderland territory between the pressures of their home culture and their adopted American culture.

She concluded that secondary schools need to create forums where immigrant teenagers can discuss these issues and be given support. She stated that schools need language policies which provide strong English language development while also supporting and nurturing the primary language of the student. Schools also need a curriculum which doesn't marginalize the backgrounds or cultures of the students. And they need to institute, for all students, clear policies and standards for bottom line behavior that will be tolerated. Finally, Olsen spoke of the need for deliberate intervention.

Appropriate Interventions

In order for a school to intervene in these issues, the adults need to recognize that something must be done—and they must agree on what needs "fixing." Referring to a presentation she made earlier in the day in the "restructuring/school reform" session, Olsen discussed her research on the difficulty of faculty dialogue over issues of race, language and culture. This difficulty contributes to the collective school stance of being unable or unwilling to see intergroup relations as a problem, and a conclusion among most school faculties that there is little utility in doing something about intergroup relations. Often, only the breakout of overt hostilities wakes up a school to the need to do something.

Olsen also cited ignorance or blindness among the adults to the depths of personal misery and conflict experienced by students who feel caught between worlds and are targets of hostility. Olsen has also found that some teachers are simply afraid that raising these issues for discussion will "stir things up," make students uncomfortable, and could even "explode."

Some teachers, however, do act on their own—by introducing discussions and curriculum in their own classrooms which offer forums for talking about these tensions, or sponsoring extra-curricular activities designed to intervene in hostile or separate intergroup relations. And in some schools there are schoolwide efforts to intervene in the arena of intergroup relations. California Tomorrow began last winter to document anti-bias and democratic education community building projects throughout California. The organization conducted interviews with the staffs of 48 of these projects, and collected written material on dozens of others. One thing that became clear is that there is no shared vocabulary at this point: the language people use to talk about their work varies widely. Some use the language of anti-bias or "unlearning" racism. Others speak of conflict resolution, others about community building or pro-social behavior. The same words may represent vastly disparate approaches, while wholly different labels may be used to describe very similar approaches. Nevertheless, Olsen identified nine focal areas in which people are working with students to foster the necessary strengths and skills for creating strong communities across race, class, language and culture:

- Helping students develop more personal awareness and better communication skills. The problem is perceived as students' difficulty in communicating effectively with those different from themselves . The solution is to help students know themselves more fully—often with an emphasis on self-esteem building)—and to improve communication with their peers. Students are helped to discover basic human similarities.

- Creating strong, connected communities within the classroom or school to counteract the separation that occurs outside. The solution is to emphasize group work in developing caring, responsible relationships, and to work on the rules and processes for living in a community.

- Teaching students the skills of resolving conflicts. Where there is diversity, there is also conflict. Conflict resolution approaches, with roots in the peace movement and the violence prevention and juvenile justice fields, share a focus on creating alternatives to violence.

- Helping students unravel their personal prejudices about each other by aiding them in recognizing stereotypes and by offering opportunities and information which challenge those stereotypes.

- Engaging students in recognizing institutionalized oppression by analyzing societal power relations and institutional practices.

- Helping students become active participants in working to change inequitable and discriminatory practices and policies in their communities. This is a social activism approach focusing on political organizing and emphasizing issues of rights and responsibilities in the political arena.

- Giving students the forums for gathering strength, support and perspective by talking with others who share their experiences—and exploring the meaning of their experiences as a "minority" by meeting in a caucus, rap group, club or discussion group that encourages self-determination and self definition.

- Helping students to gain knowledge about human relations in other times, places and cultures by teaching a strong core of multicultural knowledge through a curriculum that examines historical, international, and comparative examples of oppression and resistance.

- Working as adults to assure that the programs and structures of the school do not contribute to inequality and separation, and actively working to counteract the effects of discrimination in the world beyond the school.

Some projects work on several of these focal areas simultaneously, seeing them integrally related; others focus on only one. The most comprehensive approaches address all of the nine areas. Olsen reports that there are very active projects and efforts in each of these areas. But while most projects report they feel they have made an impact, and can anecdotally report moving effects on some students, there is very little evaluation that might sort out what approaches work in what kinds of situations. Are certain interventions more effective and appropriate when dealing with a white majority/ethnic minority dynamic, or a dynamic between two ethnic/racial minority groups? Does a student in a dominant group (such as English speaking, or white) need to go through the same process as a person of an "oppressed" group to connect with others across lines of race, language and culture? How in schools can interventions address these differences? Olsen calls for research in these areas, and for the need for practitioners to keep asking the question, "Is this working?" And, "What is the appropriate analysis of the problem in this context?

The presentation ended with the political question, "Are schools able and willing to do what is needed to create, within schools, democratic communities in which human relations can surmount the forces of racism and linguicism operating throughout society to keep us apart?" Perhaps, Olsen muses, young people who are growing up in a world far more diverse than what our generation was able to experience can forge some truly new solutions to what it means to get along, to live together, to reap the richnesses of diversity. Maybe with a little encouragement from their elders, with the creation of some space and time to do so, with the sense that it really matters to us and to the world, they *will* forge the kind of society we as adults seem to have such trouble creating for them and for ourselves.

PRESENTATION BY HELEN CHANG

I started teaching 14 years ago in Omaha, Nebraska, where I was the only Asian in the whole school. I moved out to California and started teaching in Vallejo where there was a better mix—two Asian teachers at the junior high out of 30 staff members. The last three years I've been at a high school in Oakland, which has an even better ratio: the staff are about 40% African American, 40% white, 8% Asian, and about 6% Latino.

I don't think I realized what racism was, or really had the words until probably the last two years here in California. I realized that some of the things that go on for my students are things that have happened for me; I just didn't interpret it that way because I didn't have a frame of reference. There was nobody to talk to about it. Seeing my students, listening to them, has taught me a great deal. It's been a real growing experience for me with my Asian Awareness Club.

Staff relations at my school are very segregated. Some of us intermingle and mix, but if you go into the teachers' lunchroom, you'll find the Asians sit in one spot, the Caucasians sit in another spot, and the African Americans sit in another spot. I never see the two Latino teachers down in the lunchroom at all! That's pretty much how it goes. Sometimes when we have International Week, which is a school-wide event to promote better cultural understanding, kids will say to us, "You guys don't do this — you teachers don't mix, but you want us to do this." They are right. We can't even have a discussion about these issues in our faculty room. If there's a hate crime or some kind of intergroup incident on campus, and it's brought up in a staff meeting, the tension rises. And administrators are uncomfortable dealing with it, and they let it drop. We are officially notified of it, and that's about it.

Among the Asian staff—one Vietnamese teacher, two Vietnamese counselors, and five Chinese teachers—there are differences in how we approach things. Last year there was a rap done during Black History Month, and it used "Ching-chong Chinaman" in it. One of the other Asian teachers came up to me and said, "What are you going to do about this?" He really wanted to be very confrontational about it. I said, "It's not really my style, but if you'd like to do that, I think you should meet with the kids and talk about how we can approach this." He said to me, "I guess I'm a very different Chinese than you. I grew up in the sixties, and I knew what it was like to fight for our rights and being a Chinese." What came up for me then was my own identity: How Chinese am I? Do I need to take a more militant stand? Do I need to model for my students a more direct and assertive and militant stance? Maybe in some way I'm just encouraging them to be passive and walk away and not report things? What does it mean to try to teach kids to stand up to people?

Most of the time, what I'm finding out from my Asian Awareness Club is that most of the hate crimes and incidents are never, never reported. The students make a conscious choice not to report it. It may be as simple as someone slapping them on the top of their head and muttering some racist slur as they walk down the hall — it's often much worse. Mostly, because of our particular school population, it's African Americans slapping an Asian on the top of the head as they're walking down the hall. At other schools it plays out differently. Once when an African American kid threw urine out a window on top of a bunch of Asian students on the spot where they sit every day for lunch, it was reported. But things like sitting at the bus stop and having your book bag ripped out from under you—those kinds of things happen almost daily.

I encourage kids to report these things; we need to document them, so that our staff starts realizing that there is a real tension here, and that until we start addressing race relations on a larger scale than these one-week, once a year "International Weeks," the problem won't go away and it will escalate. The hate crimes have been on the rise, and my kids tell me they don't walk less than three together. They feel they have to be in that size group. I asked, "What about walking in pairs?" They informed me that with at least three, one person could stay to back the other person up, and another could go get help. They've thought it out. They have to think about these things—it's their survival.

The Asian Awareness Club is a name the students came up with. We had been called the Asian Student Association. They said, "We don't want to be just Asians. What we want to do is make the school more aware of where we are coming from and who we're all about, and we don't want to exclude anyone. If we call it the Asian Student Association, then we are only welcoming Asian students. If we call it Asian Awareness Club, then maybe we'll be welcoming other people who might be interested in our cultures." That's how they came up with the name. It started out with about ten members; now there are about 43 in the club. The first day of our meeting this year I asked if one of the former members would like to give a description of our club to new members. Sun's description was, "We're one big happy family." That describes for me what our club has done. We have some specific goals in promoting Asian awareness: to provide activities that promote fun, relaxation and friendship; to provide services to the school and outside community; and to increase interschool communication between ethnic groups and school clubs. We work on all of those things, but I think the biggest thing that comes out of this organization for these kids is that it's a bridge between two worlds. Most of the students have been in the U.S. at least six years or more, and are very fluent in English. The ethnic groups that make up my club are Laotian, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Burmese and Filipino. People might look at them and think they are fluent in English now and doing okay, but the issues of dealing with multiple cultural worlds, of being "foreigners" are very deep for them now.

One of the problems I see as a teacher trying to help kids deal with all of this is the tyranny of an inflexible curriculum. At the high school one of the most important pressures is test scores and getting kids to qualify for a U.C. school. It really creates a situation which means you don't have time to work affectively in your classroom. If you had that time, and there's a conflict in class, you could stop and work on it without asking, "Are my kids going to make it through the CTBS testing?" We have to come to an acknowledgment that there's a major social issue here that's across the board for everyone, and that going to the university and knowing the ABCs may not be the only important thing we need to teach in schools. But I don't see that happening. If you really want teachers to work on these issues, then you have to give us the time to work on those issues in the classroom, because there is no other time. The classroom is a perfect setting because we have a group of kids together. But when schools don't give that time to talk about those things; when you can't stop your classroom lesson, at some point you have to overlook something. What is it that you overlook? They aren't going to keep me in my job because of my affective teaching; they're going to keep me in my job because of my academic teaching. That creates a whole new problem. I don't think there's support or a sensitivity out there that promotes teachers dealing with the emotional issues kids are facing every day. It makes it really hard.

PRESENTATION BY CHIA VASQUEZ

I did not go to school to learn how to work with youth. I have never been a teacher. I began my work with youth in 1981 working with a Hispanic street gang in East Oakland. My purpose at that time was to end the violence. They were killing each other. That was in 1981. I worked predominantly in East Oakland; I also worked with some Contra Costa gangs, San Jose gangs, Los Angeles gangs—I worked intensely in the streets with kids of all different backgrounds; kids that were third-, fourth-generation Hispanic; kids that were just over from Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, Southeast Asia, and of course African American, so I have a really mixed bag of experiences. I worked with these kids pretty intensely full time until about 1987, and then I switched gears. I started working with a less confrontational self-esteem program and I found myself drawn back to working with the gangs.

I started out as a full time volunteer, so my work began with meeting the parent of one of the, at that time, most violent families in that section of East Oakland. She happened to have about eight boys. They were very violent boys; the older brothers were serving time; the younger boys were 15, 14, 13. The 15-year-old had taken over as gang leader, and they were completely out of control. They walked the streets with their guns; a number of girls participated in the violence. I'm sure she won't mind me saying her name—one gal in particular—her name was Mama Lee, and she was almost six foot tall. She really took care of her boys. We found out that at that time, the gangs that were Hispanic were generally fighting with the African American gangs. The kids that were Filipino or Asian sort of chose sides, depending on who they could get away with being with. We dealt with a lot of drugs; we dealt with a lot of pregnancy; we dealt with a lot of death—both suicide and murder. The one thing I saw over and over again was that there was a conflict between being in the American culture and the values of their families. I could meet with the kids on the street, and they would wear their headbands and their pants low. Yet when I met with them in their families, they were almost entirely different human beings. Everything got put away. All their gang colors got put away. These were very violent kids. But they would bring me in, after we established some friendship, to their families, who considered me the maestra—the teacher, somebody to be honored.

But the minute we left that house, the kids became the stereotypical classification of gang members. Never mind that some of them did go to school. The moment they went outside, they were like completely different people than they were at home. Their home Hispanic culture was very respectful of mother and father. When they got out into the street, they were not respectful of any adult they saw.

When we started to work with them, we did an intensive year-long project in which we kept taking the kids out of the city and putting them in an outdoors environment in order to do some very intense work with them. It was necessary to get them away. What would start to come out was this sense of lost identity—who they were expected to be in this culture. Whether or not they were coming over from another country, or they were second-or third-generation, they felt that there was some sort of an expectation from them and they had no set of instructions. They found themselves at a great loss, and for the most part their parents did not participate in the community arenas that the kids had to negotiate. They never set foot on the campus unless they had to; the men went to work and the women stayed home. They may have uncles and grandmothers and aunties living with them; there may be as many as 12 to 15 people living in the household with a particular set of customs. But the kids felt a real loss of their identity when they were out in the world. Are they supposed to respect the customs of their family? There was no translation for the customs that they needed to present when they went to school or were just at large in the community, particularly the way they were supposed to talk to an adult. Some of these kids are trained not to question anything an adult says. So a school environment left no opportunity for them to interact or exchange; they didn't know how they were supposed to relate.

The kids were also having a hard time with the attitude of people in their neighborhood that they were taking jobs away. There they were, in the midst of hostility. The kids that I worked with (predominantly Hispanic) decided there was no hope for them; they were not going to succeed in school; they were never going to get high-paying jobs. They learned they were expected to take stereotypical low-income Latin American "go pick the fruit, go wash the floors" jobs. And they became very violent. They knew that even if they behaved themselves, and quit carrying weapons and learned to speak English well enough to participate in the educational system—still, all they had to look forward to was a lifetime of low-income earnings. It was pretty clear to them that they were never going to make it beyond. I found in my work that it just didn't make sense to tell them there was some great world out there for them. What we began to work on was, "What are the values of your people? What is important to you? What has you speak respectfully to your mother? What has you speak respectfully to the adults of your own culture? What is all that about?" We found that if you could successfully identify the reason, not just the kind of bumper-sticker saying that all children should respect adults, but what that meant in their heart as a basic value, and then help them connect it to their cultural heritage, they could feel they had something to hold onto. We took the values that they could see from their own ethnic heritage, and that they could see that their families had taught them, and then had them deeply explore their own values. I started to see some real transformation, for lack of a better word. At least some connection for the kids, who could say, "This is who I am. These are the values from my ethnic heritage and they have meaning to me." It was important that they didn't leave it up to us or to anyone else to tell them what is the value of their ethnic heritage—positive or negative—but that they found it themselves.

Now as a final word tonight, I want to say to those of you who are educators and teachers, that this task of helping kids find their way in dealing with multiple cultural worlds and in dealing with each other, it's not something for just you to take on. You're not alone. You might want to get out of your own gang. This is a community effort. Look around for the others among us who can support you and work with you— you don't have to, you shouldn't have to, you can't do this by yourself.

Discussion

The discussion focused upon how to prepare teachers to be able to work in the arena of intergroup relations. Following are selected comments from the discussion:

"With all the requirements and standards that we are coming up with to try and ensure that teachers are prepared to teach students from different cultures and language and ethnic groups, I think this is such an important area. Teachers really are extremely uncomfortable talking about racial issues. It shocks me to find that the teacher-credential students I work with think racism is a thing of the past and that it isn't happening now. But the bottom line is that it makes them uncomfortable. How can they teach a class in California these days when they are uncomfortable talking about these things? Breaking through that resistance is a very real problem we have on our hands in teacher education."

—Victoria Jew, CSU Sacramento

"I was very moved by the videotape of the students talking about these issues. I think we need more videotapes of that kind, or other ways for teachers to hear what students are feeling and experiencing. It would be very hard, I think, for teachers to listen to students saying these things and deny that they're real. At an inservice training or something they can just say 'Oh, that doesn't happen on my campus.' But if we figure out ways to give a voice to students on each campus and to be teachers to their teachers, that could have some power."

— Shelley Spiegel-Coleman,
Los Angeles County Office of Education

"What we're finding in trying to force school districts to deal with intercultural, interethnic issues is that the schools and districts tend to look for a solution without really looking at the depth of the problem. The solution usually is; what conflict resolution or intervention program can we buy to teach the students? But it can't start from the student level; it has to start with the adults in the schoool who are going to bring these programs to the students. When you have racist teachers and insensitive principals, no program or model will help. It's not just the teachers—it goes beyond the teachers, from the secretary enrolling students who says to a Korean child, "Don't you want a real American name? Don't you want to be named David instead of Nguyen Bin?" all the way to the board members who make the policies. The board members are thinking, "Ah, as long as I generate some money in the budget to buy this intervention model, it will take care of the community's demands." But it doesn't work that way. I firmly believe that we need to start from the adults, at all levels, from policymakers all the way down to custodians, before we can deal effectively at the student level."

—Unidentified Participant

"I'm working right now, and have been for the past four years, with very mainstream, mostly white teachers. A lot of the work I'm doing now I consider to be damage control. That's the best I can say for it. They don't have to like the kids or be sensitive to the kids. If I can help them to understand pedagogically what's going on here, then I hope they'll start to think about what they're doing intellectually. They don't have to love, they don't have to be sensitive, at this point. But they need to be helped to focus on rethinking their own experience, and being reflective and critical of their own practice. It has to start, as you guys were saying, right there. Unless you get them to think about what they're doing and think critically, they're not going to change. There are still people out there who want a recipe. They don't want to read about this stuff. They are open to being taught about the 7-point lesson plan, because they know that's what will be expected of them when they go to ask for a job. They need to be told that this is important. At this point, I don't even demand that they agree, but they have to begin to think critically about what they're doing and the impact it has on students."

—Lillian Vega-Castenada

BIOGRAPHY

Helen Chang is a resource specialist teacher working with learning-disabled students in an Oakland high school where she is also the coordinator of the Asian American Student Club.

Chia Vasquez served as the Director of the Oakland Youth-at-Risk Program for six years. Currently she is program developer and trainer for the Center for Living Skills, which delivers programs for youth in communication, leadership and self-image; and has established Vasquez/DuBois Educational Associates, which does workshops, retreats and seminars for schools and youth organizations regarding multi-ethnic diversity and youth empowerment.

Teaching Science and Math to Language Minority Students

Summary Abstract

Panel Chair:
LAURIE OLSEN, Co-Director, California Tomorrow

Presenters:
BETH WARREN, TERC
ANNE ROSEBERY, TERC
MARY BRENNER, U.C. Santa Barbara

Respondent:
RICHARD DURAN, U.C. Santa Barbara

The session began with a presentation by Beth Warren and Anne Rosebery contrasting the kinds of discourse and practices that characterize conventional science teaching and learning with alternative approaches based upon what they refer to as "communities of scientific sense-making." Warren and Rosebery's TERC Project investigates how linguistic minority students appropriate forms of scientific sense-making through participating with other students in communities of scientific practice.

Traditional school science, they suggest, favors and privileges mainstream middle class students, and consists of assimilating textbook knowledge, answering with known information when questioned by the teacher, and making abstract connections in decontextualized situations. This approach is teacher-initiated and teacher-evaluated. For language-minority students, access to this process doesn't guarantee learning.

By contrast, the TERC Project's approach is centered on building, criticizing and clarifying meaning through involvement and practice in scientific activity, and through discourse with others. It is generative and dynamic. The emphasis is on the social construction of meaning. Classrooms which utilize this approach are places of free debate, where students make claims and challenge each other, are pushed to provide evidence to support their claims and to find corroborating evidence, and are forced to clarify what they mean. The teacher facilitates the process and enters into the conversation as co-investigator.

Mary Brenner presented an approach to mathematics "empowerment" which works similarly. It is based upon the movement for math reform as framed by the new California State Framework for Mathematics and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics' standards for teaching and curriculum. In this definition, mathematically powerful students use mathematic tools to solve problems, but also think mathematically, pursuing problems through multiple solutions. Communication is crucial: talking about math, communicating within the math vocabulary, and communicating using math to accomplish goals and investigate the world.

Brenner presented two projects featuring this approach to mathematical empowerment: the Interactive Math Project and the "Change from Within" Project, both of which focus upon engaging students in mathematical discourse. The centrality of discourse, however, raises questions which Brenner put to the conference group: Can this be done effectively with sheltered approaches or must it be done in a child's primary language? How different would these curriculum models look if bilingual and ESL teachers were involved in developing math curriculum?

Richard Duran, responding to the two presentations, stressed the importance of programs which engage language-minority students in communities of practice which connect to their own constructions of the world.

The discussion centered first upon concerns about whether approaches which did not teach formal mathematical and scientific terminology might disadvantage language-minority students when they try to enter into mainstream math and science discourses, despite the advantages of the proposed approaches in engaging them in discourse which is based in their own investigations of the world. Then, participants spoke of the importance of primary language instruction in allowing complex dialogue to occur in the pursuit of scientific and mathematical understanding. The speakers concluded that the primary issue is ensuring that students in the math and science classroom are free to utilize whatever resources they have in whatever languages they can use to investigate, create meaning and understand their world.

Panel Presentations

BETH WARREN AND ANNE ROSEBERY

Beth Warren and Anne Rosebery from the non-profit organization TERC in Cambridge, MA, began the panel by contrasting the kinds of discourse or ways of talking about science that characterize conventional, mainstream school science, on the one hand, and what they refer to in their own work as "communities of scientific sense-making" on the other. They then explored the implications of the differences between these two kinds of discourse for student learning in science, particularly with respect to language-minority students.

The purpose of the TERC project is to investigate how language- minority students appropriate forms of scientific sense-making through their participation in communities of scientific practice. The work of the project is organized around three main activities. The first is a seminar for TERC staff and teachers of Haitian and Latino children from the Cambridge and Boston public schools, which explores scientific sense-making and the nature of scientific practice. As Warren explained: "We do science, we talk about science, we read science, we look at classroom practice, and we look at all that both from a theoretical and a practical perspective." The second piece of TERC's work is ongoing experimentation and classroom research to help create what they refer to as "communities of scientific practice." Finally, TERC staff analyze the nature of these communities and how they mediate students' scientific understanding.

Warren and Rosebery work with eight teachers from the Cambridge and Boston public schools, representing a variety of bilingual education contexts in grades three through eight: a Haitian Creole bilingual program, a Spanish bilingual program, and a Spanish-English two-way bilingual program.

The central concepts of the theoretical framework that guides the project are: socially shared cognition and situated learning—two terms used in the research literature to describe a new conceptualization of learning as an inherently cognitive and social-cultural activity. Learning in school really involves the appropriation of whole systems of meaning and the methods of using them for a variety of tasks: reading and answering questions about stories, talking to the teacher, playing in the playground with peers, doing mathematics, doing history, doing science, etc. But appropriating a new discourse, such as the discourse of science or mathematics, is a difficult process because discourses are inherently ideological. They're not neutral, but involve a set of values and viewpoints from which one speaks, acts, thinks, interacts, and so on. One consequence of this is that discourses are always in conflict with one another in their underlying assumptions and values, their ways of making sense, their perspectives and viewpoints, even the very objects and concepts with which they're concerned.

Within this framework, the problem facing the learner is that appropriating any one discourse, such as science or mathematics, will be more or less difficult depending upon the other discourses in which the learner—and the teacher—participates.

Conventional school science is a good example of how discourse appropriation works, or, actually in this case, doesn't work. With its emphasis on assimilation of textbook knowledge, answering known information questions and making abstract connections in decontextualized situations, school science actually privileges mainstream, middle-class ways of knowing and talking. The ways of knowing and talking that are valued in school—whether in language arts or in science or in math—differ from those of low-income, African-American, and many language-minority children.

An important point is that while current school science privileges middle-class ways of knowing, it doesn't necessarily succeed in engaging the interest of most middle-class children. The National Science Teachers' Association recently reported, for example, that three-fourths of American high school graduates across the board don't take science after the tenth grade. So something's not working in mainstream school science, either, and it's not a very good standard against which to determine what should be happening with language-minority children. The near-universal estrangement from science is exacerbated in the case of most language-minority students, partly because for a variety of reasons they have less access to science.

Warren stressed that access alone doesn't guarantee opportunity. Whereas schools may be good places to practice mainstream literacies, or mainstream ways of talking and knowing, they're not typically very good places to acquire those ways of knowing. In fact, in conventional science classrooms, the problem of discourse appropriation is particularly acute, because students don't often get to use language—any language—to construct scientific meaning. Jay Lemke of Brooklyn College has studied the forms and functions of classroom science, and found, like others before him, that the predominant form of classroom science talk conforms to the pattern of what he refers to as "triadic dialogue"—teacher question, student answer, teacher evaluation. Warren shared an example from a high school physics class.

> A teacher has put up an atomic orbital diagram on the board, and begins to question the students:
>
> Teacher: "This is a representation of the 1S orbital. What two elements could be represented by such a diagram? Jennifer?"
>
> Jennifer: "Hydrogen and helium?"
>
> Teacher: "Hydrogen and helium. Hydrogen would have one electron somewhere in there, and helium would have—"
>
> Student: "Two electrons."

Warren pointed out that in the structure of this talk, and even more importantly in the assumptions that seem to underlie it, the teacher very carefully controls conversation—leading with questions, calling for students to answer, and either implicitly or explicitly evaluating their answers. It's clear from the discussion that it's accepted that the teacher already knows the answer. The teacher isn't asking for information; he's testing to see what the students know. Such discourse, practices, values, and assumptions marginalize students in the science classroom—or any other classroom.

School science as currently enacted isn't just bad science practice. It also marginalizes students who don't already control mainstream ways of knowing and talking. The TERC Project is concerned, then, with how to remake science into an activity in which ALL students can participate successfully, with special emphasis on the participation of language-minority students.

In seeking to define a new kind of scientific practice for the classroom, TERC deliberately located its work in language-minority contexts in the belief that equality of educational opportunity in science cannot be achieved simply by importing mainstream school science into linguistic-minority classrooms. In defining a new kind of scientific practice, TERC also seeks to respond to the important dilemma articulated by Lisa Delpit in two issues of *The Harvard Education Review* (1986;1988): that minority children must be taught explicitly the discourse patterns, interactional styles, spoken and written language codes they need to succeed in the larger society. So TERC set out to redefine science in schools to admit diverse sense-making practices, carry more egalitarian values, and ensure that linguistic-minority students can acquire the mainstream literacies they need to succeed in school and beyond.

In trying to understand the character of scientific practice, TERC looked at ethnographic and sociological studies of science in action, scientists at work, and read the testimonies of practicing scientists about what it is they think they do. A central theme emerged: scientific practice is a socially and culturally mediated process of meaning-construction and criticism.

Scientists construct and refine their ideas within a community in which they transform their observations into findings through argumentation and persuasion, not simply through measurement and discovery. The apparent logic of scientific papers, the very thing that gets modeled in traditional science textbooks as the "scientific method," is actually the end result of the practice of a group of scientists who through informal and formal talk, graphs, notes, telephone conversations, statements, drafts of papers, and finally the circulation of published papers, construct accounts or stories. They negotiate claims, they put forward and defend arguments; they are actually writers and readers in the business of convincing and being convinced by others.

TERC built on these ideas to organize science around students'own questions and enquiries. Students pose questions. They design the studies to explore their questions. They collect, analyze, and interpret data. They build and argue theories. They establish criteria for their work and evaluate evidence. They challenge assumptions. They draw conclusions. And sometimes they even take actions based on their work. Much of the science that goes on, the "curriculum," emerges from the students' own activity, the questions they pose, the dilemmas they meet, the observations they make. At the same time, through their investigations the students learn and practice mainstream ways of talking and knowing, asking questions, taking notes, arguing different points of view, reading and writing in various genres, and using mathematics in various ways to construct scientific meaning. Examples of their inquiries include: investigating such phenomena as the acoustics of traditional West African drums, the quality of their school's water, and their local weather. The emphasis throughout is on the social construction of scientific meaning.

To illustrate this kind of scientific discourse, Anne Rosebery presented a videotape from a seventh- and eighth-grade Haitian Creole bilingual science class where the scientific discourse was occuring in Creole. It contrasted markedly with the mainstream science dialogue recreated by Warren earlier in the presentation. All of the students in the classroom were actively, intently participating in the discussion. One student made an assertion about the tank of snails they were studying. Others expressed doubts, and a lively interaction of claims, challenges, theory-building and information-sharing ensued. The atmosphere of free debate was pronounced. In order to defend claims, students were pressed to demonstrate different kinds of knowledge constructed over the weeks of their scientific study. Rosebury pointed out that this typifies scientific practice in the laboratory. She pointed out that students were pushed to clarify exactly what they meant and to contrast their theories with those put forth by others. The teacher acted as facilitator and co-investigator.

In closing, Rosebery concluded that scientific discussion and scientific activity go hand in hand. Students cannot engage in scientific discussion without having been involved in scientific investigation preceeding the discourse. Scientific activity, observation and dialogue are mutually constitutive.

MARY BRENNER

Within the new California State Framework for Mathematics there are two distinct meanings of the word "empowerment." One means to enhance an individual child's strength in doing mathematics. But there's also a second meaning: removing the barriers to mathematical achievement. The California framework is tied in to the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics' standards for teaching and curricula, so it's in accord with what math educators throughout the nation agree should be done.

Diagram 1 represents the new framework, and shows what mathematically powerful students can do. Mathematically powerful students can use mathematical ideas in two ways: what we think of as the traditional content of mathematics—measurement, geometry, and statistics; and mathematical thinking (e.g., higher-order thinking, using non-algorithmic solutions in math problems, being able to pursue multiple solutions to the same problem, and having self-regulatory skills).

A mathematically powerful student also has control of a variety of tools and techniques in mathematics, which can be as simple as the counters in elementary school but include graphs, calculators, tables, formulas, and so on.

A fourth crucial skill area that is important for our discussion is the area of communication. Effective communication is the goal of the mathematical reform movement, and it's also the means by which students achieve mathematical empowerment in all the senses just mentioned.

Another meaning of empowerment that is addressed repeatedly throughout the framework is removing barriers that face language-minority students in mathematics. Generally, students are tracked by English-language ability, and high-achieving math students who don't speak English well are tracked out of more advanced math classes. In many schools, language-minority children don't have access to the mathematics gatekeeping courses—algebra and calculus. Jeanne Oakes found that 80% of the schools that serve mostly white students have calculus courses, but only 50% of the schools that serve predominantly minority populations offer them.

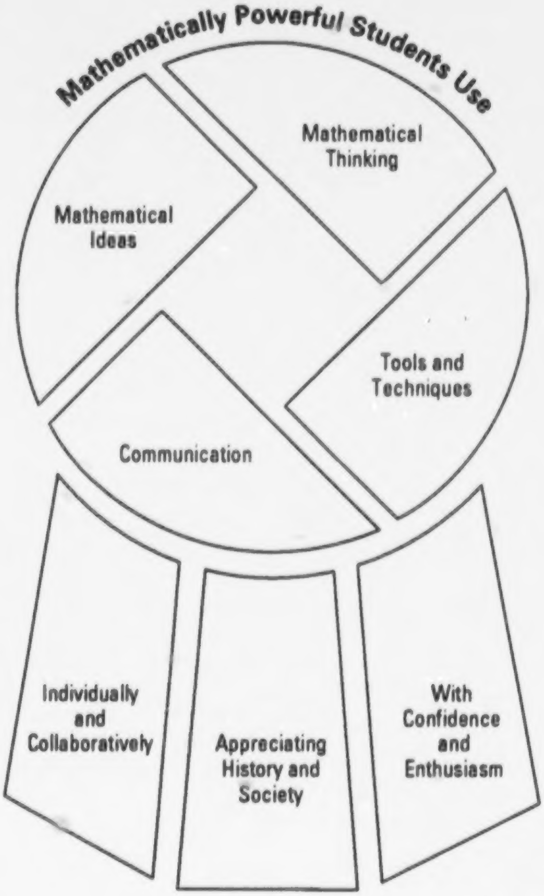
Mathematically Powerful Students Use
Mathematical Thinking
Mathematical Ideas
Tools and Techniques
Communication
Individually and Collaboratively
Appreciating History and Society
With Confidence and Enthusiasm

Diagram 1

Furthermore, there's a lack of adequate primary language support for secondary students, even though we know that they learn math better in their first language. Virginia Collier's work has documented that even so-called "advantaged" immigrant students at the high school level do not achieve at the norms of their school when they're taught only in English, even though they might do so at earlier grade levels.

In addition, we know that the textbooks and materials which are now available for math are difficult to read and may be incomprehensible to students whose first language may not be English. Furthermore, the

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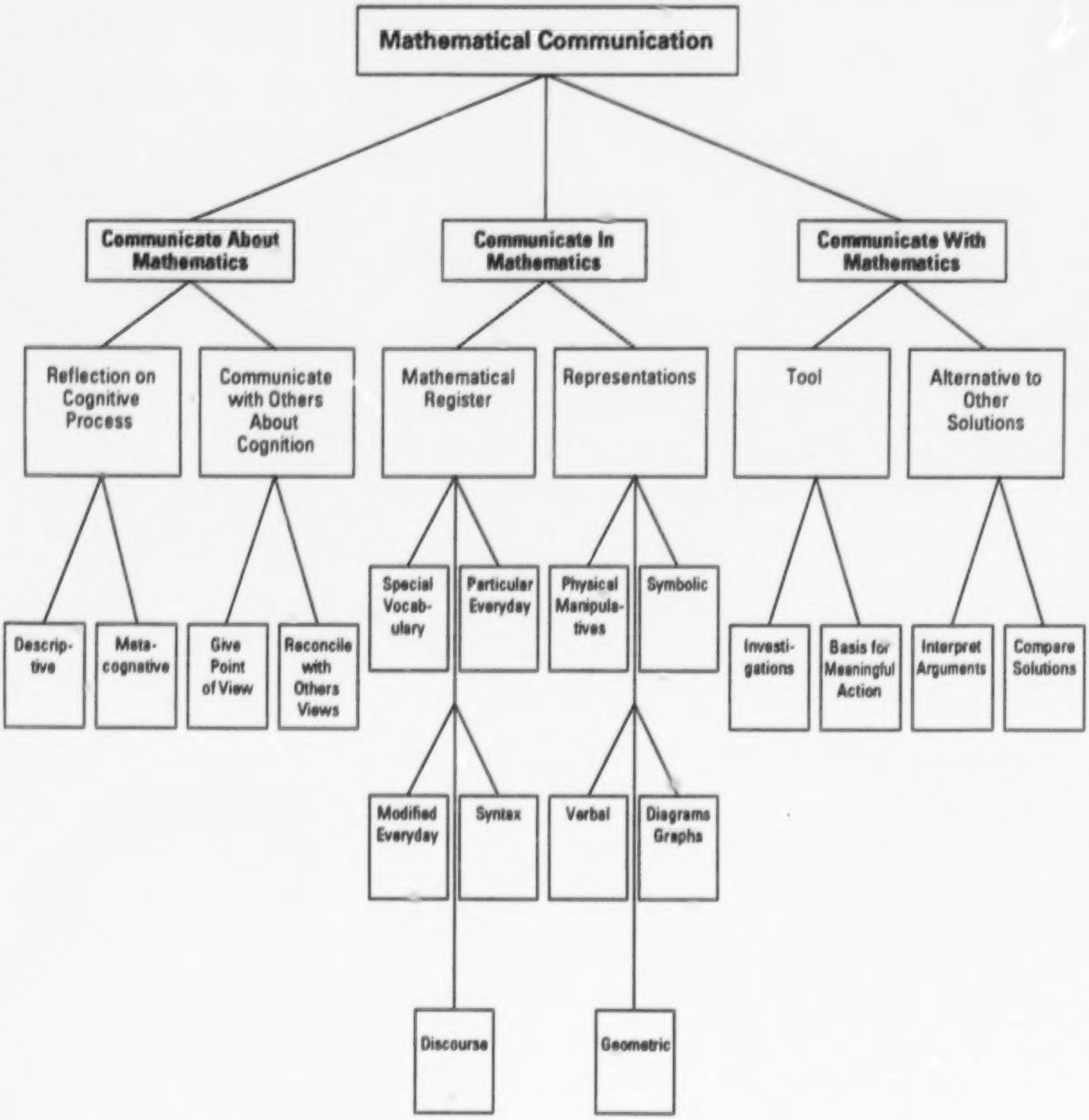
Mathematical Communication
Communicate About Mathematics
Communicate In Mathematics
Communicate With Mathematics
Reflection on Cognitive Process
Communicate with Others About Cognition
Mathematical Register
Representations
Tool
Alternative to Other Solutions
Descrip-tive
Meta-cognative
Give Point of View
Reconcile with Others Views
Special Vocab-ulary
Particular Everyday
Physical Manipula-tives
Symbolic
Investi-gations
Basis for Meaningful Action
Interpret Arguments
Compare Solutions
Modified Everyday
Syntax
Verbal
Diagrams Graphs
Discourse
Geometric

Diagram 2

form of mathematical discourse that's typically used in traditional math classrooms (e.g., word problems) is inaccessible.

The framework responds to these challenges in a number of ways. It is explicitly against ability tracking and advocates heterogeneous math grouping at all levels. It calls for students to be taught in their first language whenever possible. And it calls for reconfiguring the math course offerings to secondary students. It also calls for a communication basis for mathematical empowerment.

A number of interrelated factors influence whether children will be able to participate effectively in communication in the math classroom. The culture of the children determines in which situations they feel comfortable speaking, and what skills they bring with them to the classroom. But most important is the changing nature of academic discourse in mathematics and the changing skills students need to effectively participate in the mathematics discourse community. The math reform movement is radically changing what we expect in terms of communication skills. Traditionally, math was thought of as a less language-based subject than others in the high school curriculum. This is no longer true.

Mathematics communication includes talking about mathematics practice, talking within the vocabulary and community of mathematics, and using mathematics to communicate with others. The first category, communicating about mathematics, includes reflecting on one's own cognitive processes, and then communicating them to other people. Students need to be able to describe the steps they've gone through to solve mathematical problems. They need to apply and talk about metacognitive strategies, such as their goals in solving mathematical problems and how they made decisions about the steps to a solution. Even when children can solve mathematical problems they are often unable to explain how they reached their solutions. There are multiple instructional arrangements wherein students develop this skill with each other. Large-group instruction, in which different children take turns explaining their solution processes, can be an effective technique. An emphasis on collaborative work is based on the assumption that if students solve a problem together, they need to find ways to communicate mathematically.

A more structured approach is paired problem-solving: one child will explain a solution process and the other child acts as their metacognitive monitor. Cognitive apprenticeship teaches students ways to approach math with the skills that experts use. Students role-play "novice" and "expert" with each other, and monitor the process. In addition to learning to describe their own processes, students talk with others about how to reconcile with their points of view.

The second important form of mathematical communication is communication within mathematics. The math register includes the special vocabulary of mathematics—words like "hypotenuse." It also includes words that sound like everyday words, such as "coordinate" or "set," but which have specified meanings in mathematics. There are also words used in everyday language which aren't really different in their mathematical meaning, but need to be clarified in a mathematical context. The mathematical register has been studied extensively to discover items and concepts that are difficult for limited-English-proficiency children or second-language learners.

Mathematics has its own syntax and phrases; "greater than, less than, divide into and divide by," etc. Most importantly, mathematics has its own form of discourse—what constitutes evidence and comparing different solutions to things. Most of the research on language-minority children has looked at the difficulties that the special vocabulary creates for students, and also the problems of syntax in word problems.

The last kind of communication in mathematics is using mathematics to accomplish a purpose. Mathematics is a tool with which to investigate the world. It's a quantitative tool. Math also can be the basis for meaningful action. The math reform movement advocates that this is what students should be doing with mathematics, not solving word problems about boats that are doing strange things on rivers, or traveling between Cincinnati and Boston. Math must be embedded in meaningful activity. Students need to be equipped to see the ways in which mathematics is often used to obscure arguments, and they should be able to compare mathematical arguments with cultural and value-based types of arguments about issues.

Brenner presented two innovative curriculum projects designed along these lines for a three-course sequence for high schools. Both were developed in California and are appropriate within the new California state framework and the NCTM standards. They are the *Interactive Math Project* (IMP), jointly developed by the Lawrence Hall of Science at Berkeley and San Francisco State University, and the *College Preparatory Math Project, A Change from Within,* developed at UC Davis and Cal State Northridge. Both are based on problem-solving, and have three years of content that covers Algebra I, Geometry, and Algebra II. They therefore are intended to fulfill the math entrance requirements for the University of California system. At the same time, they depart substantially from traditional algebra and geometry curricula in terms of content and emphases.

At present both curricula are being widely tested, IMP by 35 teachers and 2,000 California students. The Change from Within project is being piloted by 145 teachers and 9,000 students.

Both programs are centered around units in which one central problem organizes the math activity for an extended period of time. With the Interactive Math Project, a unit lasts for five or six weeks, and students will concentrate on multiple aspects of that one problem. Change from Within has two- and three-week-long units.

In a typical lesson of the Interactive Math Project, the teacher briefly introduces the problem or task of the day. Students immediately break into groups for most of the class period. In the last third of the class period, students come back together and report to the class what they've done. The teacher may lead a wrap-up discussion to reconcile what the groups have found out or accomplished.

A Change from Within is similar, but it begins with a focusing review in a large group. Then once again the teacher gives a brief introduction to a problem, trying to contextualize it in terms of the larger mathematical idea that's being covered. Students break into groups of either pairs or fours, and work with their peers for the rest of the class period—unless the teacher finds that several groups are having the same problem, in which case she may bring the groups back together and go through a problem with them.

Students use small group discussions to talk about their different points of view on the process. Communication is built into the curriculum, as is the use of math as a tool for solving larger problems. The students are constantly led to work across the different representations, using graphs, tables, and writing, manipulatives. Both courses de-emphasize the traditional math register—there's very little traditional mathematics vocabulary introduced.

Are the new approaches working? Students in both programs are getting standardized test scores equal to or better than those of comparable standard classes in the same schools. Evaluators also are finding evidence that the students have new ways of using mathematics, are mastering the different kinds of things that are presented in class, and are persisting in math longer than they would if they were in traditional math classes.

Do these programs empower language-minority students? Change from Within, without giving evidence, suggests that it's particularly successful with ESL students and Hispanic students. The IMP program is more explicit about what it's done to take down some of the barriers. The program has been translated into Spanish and is being used in bilingual classrooms; the Spanish version has been made available to Spanish-speaking children in regular English-dominant classrooms. Data from one school in which the students are mostly language-minority children indicate that they persist more in mathematics. Over the three years with the IMP program, fewer than 5% have dropped out of the classes, whereas otherwise a dropout rate of about 50% would be expected from math classes in that time. In addition, all the students who have finished three years of the program are taking a fourth year of math, even though it's not required. Some of the students have gone straight into AP calculus, most are in pre-calculus and a few are in trigonometry.

Both of these programs have eliminated textbooks. The students receive problems and the information they need to go about approaching them. Brenner quoted from *Mathematics, A Change from Within*:

"Knowledge is generated from within the groups. It isn't handed to the students by an authority, either the textbook or the teacher."

At the same time, much larger oral and written language demands are being put upon students in these programs. Little is known about the implications of this, especially for LEP students or language-minority students in English-taught classes.

Brenner closed the presentation with three questions for the conference group and other researchers to consider: Can this kind of course, as communication-dependent as it is, be effectively taught with sheltered English? Do ESL and bilingual programs adequately prepare students for these kinds of discourse demands? And lastly, because these programs have been designed primarily by university and high school math teachers but without the inclusion of ESL teachers or bilingual teachers, is there a development role for bilingual and ESL specialists in developing new kinds of math courses? What would that role be?

RICHARD DURAN

Culture is about learning how to represent reality, interrogate it, and reconstruct it. Education and subject matter areas are about helping students learn how to develop the representations of reality that are conveyed through the culture of subject matter.

What does this have to do with language minority students? One principle that seems to emerge is that culture is composed of discourse networks or discourse communities, and these different institutions and practices that we call our everyday life are intersecting, and are accessible to some persons and not to others. The culture of schooling is created largely without the participation of language-minority teachers, which tells us a great deal about its accessibility for language-minority students. How does activity-centered learning affect the creation of classroom culture? If classrooms are communities of practice—that is, arrangements of people who practice math and science in particular ways—how are those communities of practice connected to the self-identity development of students and their ability to be able to interrogate, dismantle, and replace realities with others that are more functional?

Both papers highlight the centrality of communication and the ways communication and action are tied together in learning. They give us a different perspective on what constitutes science and math learning: it can be approached as activity constructed by the students. These constructions should emerge from students tampering with their own reality, shaping and discovering it through their own interaction.

I couldn't help but think of some of the notions of achievement that were evident in the interactions presented in the papers. They're very different from what we talk about as assessment, even performance assessment. The interactive construction of knowledge is the end result, and is very different from a "test." Yet, interaction is assessment: students were making claims, challenging each other, asking for clarifications, giving evidence to support claims, and corroborating evidence. These processes of interaction and using language are what learning is, what teaching and learning are. The ultimate assessments are those made by the learners and students as they take on the teaching role in the course of their interaction. It's a very different kind of assessment from our traditional notions—even the more "holistic" performance assessment models: "Well, let's look at a product. Let's look at the portfolio that's developed. Let's look at the project that's resulted, the project notebook." Even these don't consider interaction or the process of achievement. How does this connect with what we know about language-minority students? Certainly one characteristic of the interaction that stood out was its informality. The way that the discourse was constructed involved kids talking to kids. The opportunities for learning are richer than those that occur when a teacher simply instructs students.

Finally, I couldn't help but notice in the videotape of the science class that the kids were having fun as they were learning. That's very interesting. Notions of scientific interaction as a very formal thing seem to disappear. Instead, when you look closely you see that the kids are using their own socio-linguistic resources from their background, their own way of talking to each other, gesturing, using proximic cues, and they're thinking in the subject matter; thinking about how to represent and interrogate realities.

In the fields of math and science and within the teaching profession, people are getting together nationally to try to describe what should be occurring in classrooms. In principle, it's been a discourse among many people over time about how to take mathematics into the curriculum.

Where does this touch base with language minorities? I think the communications framework that Betsy has described is a very useful tool, because it suggests that math communication can be communication about math, communication in math, and communication with math. These approaches encourage students to relate to language in a different way. They can talk about problem-solving, about how you represent problems in math, steps in problem-solving, and then how to monitor their progress in solving math problems.

I think an essential issue here for language-minority students is the kind of discourse permitted with this method of mathematical learning. If students are allowed to talk with each other to construct their own learning, then the achievement is that they're learning to do that. The ability to describe and construct their own learning belongs to them. It comes back to their learning the discourse of argumentation and persuasion in math, and to be able to have that be part of their culture.

Discussion

The discussion centered on several different aspects of the issue: the appropriateness of teaching formal scientific and mathematical language and register and whether or not they disadvantaged language-minority students, and the role of the language of instruction in applying these models to language-minority students.

One participant, who works in teacher training, mentioned that many of the teachers she has worked with have classes with a few LEP students, but they are teaching the regular mathematics class. They ask for her guidance in how to sensitize their language instruction. With the math register, a variety of aspects—syntactic, grammatical and pragmatic, affect whether or not the students are learning the language. One strategy that these teachers are beginning to use is to choose just one or two terms for the students to use as they are being taught the mathematical operation and process. Later on, when preparing them to enter the mainstream and deal with different textbooks, teachers devote time to work with them specifically on vocabulary recognition. They're finding this sequence—giving them the activities and processes with one or two terms at the beginning, and following with the standard technical vocabulary—works well with all students.

Another participant expressed concern that failure to teach "mainstream" math and science vocabulary might jeopardize language-minority students in the future. She felt that they need that vocabulary in order to not be closed out of more mainstream math dialogues when they occur.

A question was posed to both panelists: "Right now, it is standard practice to place limited-English-proficient students in English-taught mainstream math classes quickly. This follows from the general belief that math is not a very language-based subject, so it is logical that math is one of the first subjects in which students can be moved into English. Both of you spoke some in passing about the importance of primary language, the importance of a shared language among students which allows complex dialogue. This could have grouping implications as well as implications for the recommended language of instruction. In order to have the kind of scientific and math discourse you recommend, do students to have primary language instruction? Should we be group students by primary language?"

Warren responded first. "Often when the question of language comes up, there's a confusion in terms of the "language of instruction," whether it be the first language or a second language, and this notion of "discourse" that we're tying to put forward. As this example showed, we have a commitment in this project to kids doing and talking science first and foremost. In many cases that means using their first language. The priority is on constructing scientific meaning, understanding the ways to make meaning in science, and gaining mastery over them. Practically speaking, in the various classrooms we're involved in—which number around eight now—we see lots of different configurations of language in use. We see classrooms that have two teachers—one a bilingual teacher, the other an ESL teacher—and in that classroom we see Haitian Creole and English both being used in a number of incredibly inventive ways. There are times when the kids will be having a conversation like this in Haitian Creole. The ESL teacher will get so frustrated because she has limited Creole knowledge that the kids will translate for her, so that she can enter into that conversation. We haven't really been looking at the question of language development in this context, but I think it would be a really rich context for doing so because there's a great deal going on. In this classroom Creole was the language of science—period. But we see different emphases in different classrooms. It gets negotiated in the process. If the point, the priority, is to get inside the discourse of science, to control that discourse, there may be several means of doing it—but that has to be the explicit goal."

Brenner responded next. "That's exactly true with math also. A student who barely speaks English has to learn math in his or her first language. I don't know where the exact transition period is. But do know that even language-minority students who are very competent in English go back to their first language, if they have a choice, when they first start dealing with these forms of discourse. Later they'll move back towards doing it in English. So how can we have classes with mixed languages? At the elementary level, they've experimented with letting kids translate for each other, and students use whichever language they want. Apparently some people in interactive math are giving the students the materials in English and Spanish and facilitating their access to the information from whichever languages they want to use, but I don't think much is known or being done at the intermediate level.

Rosebery added: "We need to consider, though, each specific classroom and what is possible. If the teacher does not speak the native language of the children, it's the teacher's responsibility to figure out how to get the meaning across to the kids and allow them to begin to enter into the discourse. Our project is an example of the use of different kinds of approaches to the language of instruction. It is the flexibility in language and a major focus on content that's important. I don't think that we are prepared to make a policy statement saying, "In every classroom where there is a non-English language and where the children are dominant in a non-English language, their's is the only language in which they can be taught."

Richard Duran ended the discussion by saying: "I think the students in the classroom should be free to utilize whatever resources they have in whatever languages they can use to do things like claiming, challenging and clarifying. That's the central concern. There may be more than one pathway to doing that, but certainly coming through the first language may be the most efficient way."

Accountability, Assessment and Equity

Session Abstract

Chris Faltis opened the session with remarks on assessment and accountability. The characteristics of effective schools in general are similar to those of schools effective with language-minority students: active leadership, commitment to improvement, and careful monitoring of student progress. Effective schools have open tracking so that language-minority students are not barred from gifted or honors classes.

Equity has three elements: access, participation and benefit. Access means giving students opportunities to take a full range of content classes. Beyond access are participation and benefit. Just giving access to courses in SE and L1 content in math and science is not enough—we have to examine the levels of participation. It is very difficult to mix LEP and EO students in classes with teachers who won't adjust to insure participation. The question is, how much benefit do they get from being in these classes? Only access has been examined up to now.

At the secondary level, accountability in language-minority schools means addressing access, participation and benefit. This means being responsible for content course access and second-language learning. LEP students need L1 development and favorable conditions for second-language acquisition. We should be vigilant in monitoring how well secondary schools are enabling students to have full access to content.

It takes an estimated 5-7 years for LEP students to learn English, under the best of conditions, in elementary school. We don't know what it takes for high school-age students. The favorable conditions needed for adolescent language learners might not be the same as for elementary school children. It would be a mistake to simply apply elementary research to the secondary setting.

Assessment is used to: select and place students in programs; diagnose strengths, weaknesses and areas of concern; and to reclassify and evaluate. Issues include: the use of language proficiency tests at the secondary level; the role of primary language assessment and experience, reclassification in secondary; exit criteria; and writing proficiency.

DISCUSSION

Virginia Collier's forthcoming study will track longitudinal data on LEP students in secondary school. Early indications are that youth from war-torn countries with interrupted schooling who emerge from two-way programs in elementary schools seem to do better than students from traditional bilingual programs, even though the secondary programs do not provide much primary language support.

When LEP students are placed in all English classes in secondary, we are giving them interrupted schooling just as if they were in a war zone. They don't get access to academic work while picking up English. It may, however, take less time at the secondary level to learn academic English than at elementary (3-4 years as opposed to 5-7 years).

The Fairfax, Virginia studies show that elementary LEP students made it to the 51st percentile on a English reading test after 5 years. But the 8th graders after 5 years of second language schooling made it to the 46th NCE, and after six years to the 47th NCE—in other words, they made it to a certain level and maintained that level. They were in ESL and mainstream content classes, and were from middle- and upper-class backgrounds in their home country. They were expected to do extremely well in the short term.

After five years of schooling, 11th graders are at the 25th NCE. They come into U.S. schools at the 5th or 6th grade, and end up at the 31st NCE after 6 years. This achievement pattern has more to do with interrupted schooling than anything else. They did not have interrupted schooling in their home country, and had strong L1 development. They got no support in L1 to continue their academic work while learning English in the U.S., nor did they get content area ESL. They all graduated from high school and got A's. They can't write in college. Yet they are high school valedictorians.

This illustrates that multiple assessment measures are needed—a combination of performance assessment and standardized tests. In classroom performance, measurement is the most authentic way of measuring progress across time. If we only have performance assessment of long-term achievement, we will lack the comparability across schools and programs which ensure that students are getting access to the curriculum.

The threshold for L1 literacy needed before English instruction can begin is unclear. It's probably more than 2 years, its in the 3-5 year range. If newcomers have at least a 4th grade education before they arrive in the U.S. they do better. In Collier's experience, with the right support, LEP students can make up years of schooling in a short time.

Patricia Gandara summarized the Berman/Weiler findings on assessment, found in Volume II of the study. There is tension between accountability and good teaching. This tension is related to student time, teacher time, and determining the best time to test. Oral tests provide a good first cut assessment, but they don't measure growth in oral English fluency. The challenge is to embed assessment into instruction.

How can English language development and academic achievement be measured? There is no valid Spanish test at secondary (like SABE) that goes above the 8th grade. SABE is useful only for gross distinctions in math. The appropriate tests need to be developed.

Accountability really depends on what the structure of schooling is at the secondary level. We need to generate alternative structures, then create alternative assessment.

The BW study showed the importance of reclassification in elementary schools. If LEP students are not reclassified in elementary school, it creates problems for them up the line. If they were not reclassified, in many cases they were not given access to full programs in high school. We found cases of students who were not reclassified in elementary school simply because there were no good tests, or procedures in place, or kids moved from one place to another, or someone just forgot. This is a dilemma that really needs to be resolved. There aren't good ways to do reclassification, and yet if it's not done, it really hurts kids.

School districts with exemplary elementary programs which did not reclassify by the end of elementary thought the kids would be taken care of at secondary. The BW study tracked these students into the secondary grades and found that they were sidelined into LEP classes, they often missed science or math in intermediate school, and seldom were reclassified by the time they got to high school. Meanwhile, they had missed critical prerequisites at the intermediate level. These are students who entered the U.S. at kindergarten or pre-kindergarten.

Accountability is very important for equity but it should be broader than student assessment because it also affects issues like teacher preparation. It is important to consider the goal and the end result of accountability—is it to punish or to help?

Session Description

Convener:
PATRICIA GANDARA,
University of California at Davis

Presentation:
CHRIS FALTIS,
Arizona State University at Tempe

Respondent:
VIRGINIA COLLIER, George Mason University

Chris Faltis

Assessment is a broad topic and one that has been touched upon in many of the previous sessions. Chris Faltis focused on issues of accountability and assessment, which are both facets of the same issue: how do schools know what's going on with their language minority students?

Effective Schools for Language-Minority Students

The characteristics of effective schools in general are similar to characteristics of effective schools with language-minority students. If you took the language-minority aspect out of the characteristics identified in the Tamara Lucas and Rosemary Henze (study cited in the Restructuring panel), you would find themes similar to those found by other researchers on effective schools: active leadership, commitment to improvement, and techniques to monitor student progress. In mainstream effective schools, leaders pay attention to motivating the staff and reaching the community, and to setting up an organization centered on an articulated educational philosophy.

Site Leadership: In schools with large numbers of LEP students it's the same: leadership is a critical variable. Principals who are recognized as effective leaders are committed to the LEP program, they have expertise in second language acquisition and bilingual programs, and they engage in strategic planning for the program. Furthermore, they monitor school success. Leaders of effective language-minority schools also know the legal aspects of schooling: the *Lau v. Nichols* decision, the Lau remedies.

Monitoring success: Effective mainstream schools monitor school success in a general sense. They look at whether teachers are well-trained, and evaluate the program regularly. They pay attention to "at risk" students (a term which is somewhat difficult to define) and others who might otherwise fall through the cracks.

Effective schools for language-minority students have done away with tracking, in that language-minority students are not barred from the gifted or honors classes. They make efforts to insure that all courses are open and available for LEP students. They develop alternative ways of assessment.

Accountability and assessment are related issues, but not the same. We need to ask, "Accountability to whom?" Is it for teachers, for administrators, for the public, for the students? When we are talking about accountability for students, that is assessment.

Equity is three-pronged: access, participation and benefit. Equity as access means students have opportunities to take a full range of content classes. But we need to go beyond access to participation and benefit. Just giving access to courses in sheltered content or primary language instruction is not enough—we have to examine the extent of participation. Mixing LEP with English Only students makes LEP students' participation less likely. It is very difficult to mix the two groups in classes with equal participation unless you have teachers who know how to adjust classrooms processes to insure participation. Then we need to ask, "How much benefit do they get?" In most discussions of accountability and assessment, the concern has been only with access. We need to shift to examine participation and benefit.

Accountability: There are a variety of ways to talk about accountability. It's a word like "enabling" with many meanings. At the secondary level, accountability in language-minority schools means being responsible for content course access and second language learning. LEP students need primary language development and favorable conditions for second language acquisition. We should be vigilant to see that secondary schools enable students to get a full range of content. What curriculum is available to them? Yesterday we had examples of curricula that showed movement from primary language to core content instruction. I like these models. But as we all know, in high schools it doesn't work so easily; usually there are minimal, scattered offerings.

Secondary students need primary language in high school. But they also need favorable conditions for English language acquisition, especially those who enter in 9th grade or after as immigrants. If there is a strong primary language strand, the students have very little time to develop English—and it takes 5-7 years to learn English under the best of conditions for children in elementary school. We don't know what it takes for children in secondary schools. It might be longer than 5-7 years; or it might be less. Catherine Snow's work implies that adolescents are the best language learners. But favorable conditions needed for adolescents might not be the same as for elementary school children. We tend to take information from the elementary school and apply it directly to the secondary school without examining it—but we really don't know the favorable conditions for secondary.

Another accountability issue is that principals and department heads are responsible for organizing programs. These individuals need to understand the programs types needed as well as the teacher training necessary to implement those models. What types of student will most likely be in those classes? Minicucci and Olsen's study says that most high school immigrant LEP are 2-3 years behind in academic experiences. Clearly, some students are parallel to or above their peers.

The master program schedule sets into motion what will happen for an entire year. The decisions necessary for setting up a master program schedule include: the hours teachers are available, types of credentials needed, the number of teachers available and willing to teach courses, and information about students signed up for the courses. In high schools, the people providing information that goes into the actual plan are the assistant principal, counseling department, and department chairs. Seldom do they have information about the immigrant students. The schedule is often set before incoming kids are tested. In Phoenix, LEP kids are not tested until October, so they're not set into their classes until November. Department chairs don't know about LEP kids, yet they are making decisions about the schedule. Principals in Phoenix take programs and separate them into schools within schools. Whole blocks of courses for LEP students are created to handle the master schedule. This means that the students are isolated and segregated from the general population, which cuts off the opportunity to interact with native English-speaking peers. Structurally, it leads to a separate-but-equal relationship or worse, a separate and unequal relationship.

Assessment: Assessment asks a somewhat separate set of questions from accountability. What are students able to do as a result of schooling? How well do they benefit from curriculum decisions?

Typically, there are five assessment applications: selection of students into programs; diagnosis of strengths, weaknesses and areas of concern; placement in programs; reclassification; and evaluation of how students have progressed.

State, federal and local authorities often request information on how many students there are and what types of programs they're in. Administrators need information to assess local needs and monitor programs, to make good decisions about teachers, and to track student progress. Testing is important in high schools: it enables students to move through and out of high school and serves as a gatekeeper to certain courses. What do we know about secondary schools and these issues? Here are some issues which need thought:

Language proficiency tests: Elementary-level tests are often are applied to secondary students. LAS and BSM are general tests that include items like minimal pairs and sentence comprehension; they are not good measures of the discourse proficiency needed in high school. They are not good diagnostic tests because they don't get at a higher level of literacy. Beth Warren in science literacy, Walter Secada in math, and other people in secondary subject areas could provide the field with some content specific direction in testing. Most schools pay insufficient attention to testing, they just give a LAS test and that's about it. They don't know how to go beyond that.

Role of primary language assessment and experiences: Many studies show that high schools rarely pay attention to primary language abilities. Students enter with different educational and cultural experiences but they are seldom assessed or known. What is assessed is not then passed on to teachers and so the information is not used to make decisions in the classroom. This is both an accountability and equity issue. We not only need more information on students' primary language capabilities, we need better mechanisms to ensure that the information is used to help schools make better decisions about educational program placements.

Reclassification: The issues of reclassification are different in elementary school and high school. Does reclassification have a place in secondary schools, particularly high schools? Should we have a primary language program that goes all the way through high school for the four years or three years? What if there isn't time to develop the English language fluency necessary for reclassification? What are the goals at high school? Perhaps it doesn't make sense to talk about reclassification the same way at the two levels, yet it is part of the Lau plan.

Exit criteria: What is a meaningful criterion for exit from high school?

Writing Proficiency: At what point should writing proficiency become more important than oral proficiency? Everything in assessment is currently organized around oral proficiency—speaking and listening. In upper grades, writing skills become more important and gatekeepers expect higher standards. Yet, we are trapped, in bilingual education, into oral development.

VIRGINIA COLLIER

George Mason University, Panelist

Focusing first on the question that Chris Faltis raised—"Do we have any data at all on secondary schools?" I think we do.

Data on secondary school results are in an article I wrote for the *TESOL quarterly* in 1987 and 1989. It describes long-term cognitive academic development over time, looking at terribly old standardized tests just to see how students were doing after they had access to second language training for a while. It is clear that it is very important not to interrupt their schooling. This refers to certain kinds of program placements that interrupt development, as well as to missed attendance in school. When we place them in all English classes in secondary, we are giving them interrupted schooling just as if they were in a war zone. They don't get access to academic work while picking up English. Maybe it takes 3-4 years rather than 5-7 for them to learn English, but what's important is that we stop their academic development. They can't make that up.

In my studies at secondary, this pattern of academic interruption recurs again and again. This is the data from my infamous Fairfax County study:

English Reading NCE

	After 5 yrs of L2 schooling	After 6 yrs
Grade 4	51	
Grade 6	51	51
Grade 8	46	47
Grade 11	25	31

These scores are from the SRA, an old test which is no longer used in Virginia. After five years, the elementary students made it to the 51st percentile on a reading test which tests thinking skills in English. But the 8th graders after 5 years of second language schooling made it to 46th NCE, and after 6 years to the 47th NCE. They made it to a level and stayed there. I have found this to be a pattern—they don't quite make it to the 50th NCE. They did not get content based ESL, but the old ESL grammar/structural approach. They were placed in mainstream classes.

These students had everything going for them. Many were above grade level in L1 when they started in our schools; we removed from the study those who were below grade level when they arrived in the U.S.. The students in the sample were from middle and upper class backgrounds in their home countries, and were expected to do extremely well in the short term.

After 5 years of schooling, however, look at where the 11th graders are on the standardized tests. They come in at 5th or 6th grade, and end up at the 25th NCE. They are up to the 31st NCE after 6 years.

This achievement pattern has more to do with interrupted schooling than anything else. They had no interrupted schooling in their home country, in fact, they had strong primary language development prior to immigrating to the U.S. But they got no support here in the primary language to continue their academic work while learning English, nor did they get content area ESL. They all graduated from high school, they got A's. But if you look at their skills, you find that even if they go to college, they can't write in college.

There is another issue involved in considering whether to use standardized tests. In the absence of anything else to measure academic areas, they are still important. Performance assessment is essential, but multiple assessment measures are needed. In classroom performance measurement is the most authentic way of measuring progress across time. But if we have only performance assessment of long-term achievement, we will lack comparability across schools and programs to ensure that students are getting access to the curriculum, so a combination of performance assessment and standardized tests is needed.

Math NCE

	After 5 yrs of L2 schooling	After 6 yrs
Grade 4	64	
Grade 6	66	68
Grade 8	73	73
Grade 11	53	59

Discussion

Question: Virginia, are you looking at kids who are not at grade level as a cohort to see the influence of time of arrival?

Collier: Yes. We are completing a study of 4 school districts. It has beautiful longitudinal data and will be published next spring, but we're not yet ready to report on it. Early indications are that kids from war-torn countries with interrupted schooling who emerge from two-way programs in elementary schools seem to do better than kids from traditional bilingual programs, even though the secondary programs do not provide much primary language support.

Question: Have you examined the tie between student test scores and graduation rates, college-going rates, and GPA in college? Math tests are above average and more predictive than the reading tests. A UCLA study for foreign-born students showed that the factor is time in acquisition of language skills. Despite the language proficiency, their abilities are fine. As educators at primary and secondary levels, what kind of language development should we do in L1 to make up the apparent gap—or is it just a time issue?

Collier: Yes, colleges are more flexible if they see a low SAT verbal but high math, they are open to letting them in.

Question: What kind of language development should we do if not L1? Is it time, or L1, or both? What's reasonable to expect? Are we asking for the moon?

Collier: Students do need time. It's a long-term developmental process. More time for academic writing must be built into the school day and ESL teachers should be urged to do more writing.

Question: If a student comes in 7th grade with good schooling, my experience is that the student will graduate. Is the necessary threshold of L1 literacy known for academic success?

Collier: We should distinguish L1 literacy and content in L1. The threshold for L1 is unclear. It's probably more than 2 years—probably more like 3-5 years. If newcomers have at least a 4th grade education they do better. In my experience, LEP students can make up years in a short time.

Patricia Gandara: Time is a big issue, maybe one of the most crucial ones to concentrate on when we talk about secondary schools. The diversity in skill and academic levels is very wide in both LEP and English Only students in secondary schools. Assessment should be relative to time. In the Berman Weiler study, we found a marked tension between the time demands inherent in accountability and putting efforts into good teaching: student time, teacher time, what's a good time to test. When faced with a choice of whether to put time into the classroom and instruction or put time into testing, many teachers feel that testing isn't worth it. Oral tests provide a good first cut for initial placement, perhaps, but they don't measure growth in oral English fluency. So what is the usefulness of that kind of testing pressure once in a program? How do we reconcile time, and embed assessment in instruction?

Shelly Spiegel Coleman: We have SOLOM rubrics for oral fluency. We need criterion-referenced writing rubrics.

Question: Regarding minimum competency testing in L1, what about earlier grades? Do those tests have to be in English?

Jim Stack: Yes, because business wants English literacy.

Question: Regarding writing proficiency tests, can they be used legally to keep kids out of secondary school? META was retained because a proficiency exam was used to exclude migrant LEP students from high school. The same issue is occurring in Virginia.

Dan Holt: Accountability really depends on what schooling looks like at the secondary level. Assessment begs the question until issues of structure are addressed. The issue of time is indeed the big question, how much time is realistic? The issue of standards, the number of students assigned to teachers, the issue of blending authentic assessment with instruction — these are the big questions. We're involved in accountability because of the politics involved, wanting to identify bad schools, create a statewide picture and rank districts like we rank students. We're creating a process that doesn't have much directly to do with individual teacher-student instruction. We need to generate alternative structures, then create alternative assessment to let teachers, parents and kids know how they're achieving their objectives. Why cater to big business? Why not let small businesses dictate the need for bilingual staff? Then the school could work with those communities to work to prepare them. Assessment itself is not a challenge as much as a structure.

Patricia Gandara: One important thing came out in the Berman Weiler study. It showed the importance of reclassification in elementary school because of what happens to non-reclassified LEP kids in secondary schools. If LEP students are not reclassified in elementary school, it creates problems for them up the line. While we're all uncomfortable with how it happens, how erratic it is and the instruments used to make it happen, nonetheless reclassification is important.

If students are not reclassified, in many cases they are not given access to full programs in high school. We found cases of students who were not reclassified simply because there were not good tests, or procedures in place, or kids move from one place to another, or someone just forgot. The assumption of the school was that they were not capable of higher level material. It is a dilemma we really need to resolve; we don't have a good way to do it—yet if we don't, it really hurts kids.

Catherine Minicucci: Yes, even school districts with exemplary elementary programs that, for whatever reason, did not reclassify by the end of elementary, thought the kids would be "okay" at secondary. We tracked the students up into the secondary grades and they were not "okay," they were sidelined into LEP classes, they missed science or math and might get reclassified by the time they enrolled in high school, but meanwhile they had missed critical pre-requisites at the intermediate level. These are students who entered the U.S. at kindergarten or pre-K. This is a red flag for us.

Donna Christian: Accountability is very important for equity, but it should be broader than student assessment to incorporate issues like teacher preparation—it should not be restricted to student assessment. Accountability to what end, punishment or help? Right now, it's punishment.

Dan Holt: It is abusive to identify a school and castigate it in public. There is something wrong with educators who will go out and attack each other.

The Political, Legal and Fiscal Climate

Session Description

Convener:
CATHERINE MINICUCCI,
Minicucci Associates

Panelists:
PETER ROOS,
Attorney, META

EUGENE GARCIA,
Dean of Social Sciences, University of California at Santa Cruz and Co-Director, National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning

PETER ROOS

In thinking about secondary LEP issues, there are some conclusions to be drawn from historical lessons. The first major legal effort to mandate responsive bilingual programs for Limited English Proficient children in this country occurred immediately following the *Lau v. Nichols* decision in 1974. The *Lau v. Nichols* decision said that all school districts have an affirmative obligation to address the needs of Limited English Proficient students.

Then the Department of Health, Education and Welfare convened a group of experts to advise them on the Lau remedies. They developed the model that we see today. It is amazing that so little progress has been made since then, at least in terms of the mandate and legal framework.

The Lau remedies were silent as to how to serve secondary LEP students. Jose Cardenas and Bambi Landina-Cardenas, part of the team called to Washington to help put together the Lau remedies, recently shared with me some of their thoughts about secondary LEP programs:

- We had no idea of what to do with secondary students. We knew we wanted bilingual education, and we thought it could be done, but we knew it would take time to develop the models. We didn't know what to recommend at the secondary level.

- Coupled with that, there were no secondary school models and it seemed particularly confusing to try to conceptualize those models because of the departmentalization of schools and the wide differences among LEP students' prior schooling at the secondary level. What do you do with a youth who comes in at 17 years old, who will have to compete in the economic market in two years? Do we serve that person by delaying their English learning? Or should we give that student basic English language skills so he can at least get out and begin to compete in the market?

Back in 1974 and 1975 people punted on this issue because of the lack of clear models and confusion about both the diversity of the schools and the population to be served.

California's Bilingual Education Program law which sunsetted in June 1987, was the most prescriptive bilingual law ever developed. Yet even that law, when it came down to the secondary school, simply mumbled something to the effect that all districts should comply with the federal law. Those of us who knew what the federal law said, knew that meant nothing. Massachusetts, which had the first major state law, was exactly the same. Texas, which was involved in intense litigation over bilingual education, was also very much the same.

Policy Development in the Future Depends on Developing Program Models

The lesson is, if we expect anything real to happen across the board, we are going to have to come up with some secondary program models. Otherwise we will have to leave it up to the "good intentions" of the people in the schools. If we wait for the definitive piece of research to implement policy in this area, we will be dead and buried, and a whole lot of children will be lost in the interim. That isn't the role of research. It is important that the researchers help us as much as they can — Krashen's model of comprehensible input has been essential. It is crucially important that research be linked up with policy but it is also important that we take some gambles, that we find a model. We cannot just wait for research. We can say though, that we have tried some models and this is the best we can do. Let's push it as hard as we can and improve it as we go along. We need to act.

Secondly, I think that the days are gone, at least in the short run, for prescriptive statewide policy. The people here have spoken about educational reform and there are key elements that keep recurring in current day reform dialogue. One is lack of prescriptiveness, and an emphasis on accountability rather than inputs. I am frankly nervous about that. But my nervousness or your nervousness isn't going to stop this wagon from moving forward. That means we have to try to shape it and I think we have an obligation to do so. That's the way things are going at the national and certainly at the state level. Maybe things will change a little bit with the new administration and we certainly hope that they do.

Clearly, the focus is now on the district level and on site based management, a real devolution of responsibility to the localities. This means that information, and models, have got to be wildly disseminated. It is no longer sufficient to get Ben Lopez (CRLA) in Sacramento to get a law passed and advocate for it and assume good things will happen locally as a result. The best that we are going to get from the Sacramentos or state capitols are general admonitions. So when we have some programmatic models, some frameworks, something that can provide guidance to the field, we ought to disseminate it widely among advocacy and parent groups. Everyone will have to be involved. It is a much bigger task to get this stuff in schools than it has been in the past.

The third piece is that we are operating in a time of anti-immigrant feeling. Hopefully, there will be change at the national level, more responsibility and the debate and discussion will be a bit moderated. But it's going to be a tough haul for a long time. As Laurie Olsen has pointed out, whenever there is a recessionary period the first people we pick on are the immigrants. If you look back to the 1890's, the first World War and the Depression, you see these patterns. I gather that, in one way or another, the North American Free Trade Agreement will happen, no matter who's in Washington. It will give another impetus to the perception that jobs are moving south in addition to Southerners moving north. There will always be a way to place blame.

Our responsibility will be to have models that will work for all of us, and to participate in the political process. We also have to provide access to people locally so they can understand what they're up against. It's not merely disseminating educationally sound, pedagogically sound information, but people are going to have to be knowledgeable about the political forces at work.

The final piece is that in talking about secondary programs for Limited English Proficient students it is necessary for all of us to not limit ourselves to just Limited English Proficient students and how they're being served or not being served. It is crucial that we become involved in thinking about reform of the secondary schools in total.

EUGENE GARCIA

It is always difficult to come at the end of a thought provoking discussion and I will follow the two cardinal rules of anyone who does that. The first is be brief and the second is attend to rule number one.

Let me, on behalf of the Center, thank you for being here. Without these convocations, we will not be able to move the agenda of education for all children forward. I want to identify three major conclusions that I would like you to think about regarding the secondary education of the emerging majority of students. In California we know the demographic reality, that when we speak of immigrant and language minority students, we are talking about the students that will be our future. Clearly, by the turn of the century in the ten most populous states in this country, there will be no single ethnic group that constitutes a numerical majority. There will be a number of minorities. The students we are talking about today will be the new emerging majority in that minority setting.

What do we want to say about secondary schooling? What would I like to say?

Well, one conclusion I would like to make is that we have been in the "thin of the thick" of things with regard to these children. I think we have been barking up the wrong tree for a decade. The second thing I would like to say is that we have a unique set of challenges with regard to this student population, and these challenges are somewhat paradoxical:

- First we have to send more of them on to higher education. We haven't done this very well.

- But secondly, we have to prepare them for the work that our country needs. We can't help but listen to the political campaigns and know that jobs are important. But what kind of jobs? How does schooling relate to jobs?

We have a multiple and complex set of challenges with regard to these students. But, I'm optimistic about the future for these children. I'm optimistic because I think that for once we might have a knowledge base that's relevant to doing something. We certainly have a demographic thrust, and I see a lot of people working very hard to do something.

Let me briefly expand on these conclusions. First, with regard to being in the "thin of the thick" of things, you all know that the major worry dealt with in bilingual education dialogue has been about whether or not these children can learn English, whether these children can learn the mainstream discourse. But we haven't been very focused on whether they're really learning anything meaningful, and I think that's the challenge. We are beginning to think about that, not only for these students, but for all students.

Quite frankly we have moved away from the Americanization philosophy of the turn-of-the-century educators. This nation did everything, from taking native Americans off the reservation, putting them in schools thousands of miles away from their communities and submerging them in English, to doing research on IQ to determine who was worth Americanizing and who wasn't. Then we moved to a stage of equal education opportunities which was great, but all that did was focus on access. There are enough of you here who know that access is not enough. Issues of desegregation were born out of issues of access. Access to what? My cynic self says that it is all part of the broader issue of Americanization, to get them all to learn English and be American. Access to this kind of education is just not enough, we have to define what it is they need access to.

As Chair of the Latino eligibility study at the University of California, it didn't take me long to realize that the data suggests that we are not sending very many of the emerging students to the University. We must do that, it's in every one of our own best interests to do that. The case is, that in 1991 we had 60,000 Latino high school graduates, only 4% or 2,000 found their way to the University of California. We have a tremendous challenge in secondary schools. We can't afford to send only 4% of the majority to the University—folks, we won't be here as a university.

Secondly, for those students who don't go on to the University the challenge is to enhance employability, in different ways than we do now. Our current high school graduates, particularly those we are talking about, are going out of high school into low paying employment which is decreasing at tremendous rates. Economists tell us that if we continue to send those youth out they compete with the Taiwanese, Mexicans, etc. who will work for one-third the amount to produce the same product. How can we send these youth out into a global market and expect that they will be successful in that market? Even if we don't want to prepare these students for college, and I argue that we should, then we better prepare them for something else. Because bottom line, the question being asked is if a high education is worth anything? And, unfortunately, the answer to that question for the students we are talking about is "No." Now that's a tremendous challenge. Send them to college and do something for them that will make them more employable. And not make them compete for all those jobs that someone else is better able to compete for. Let me turn to my optimism, given these challenges.

I'm optimistic, believe it or not, because I am convinced that we do have a knowledge base. You all have been talking about it these past few days. It's a knowledge base with a conceptual framework that says what we're trying to do is teach and learn. That's different from what we were trying to do a few decades ago, even a few years ago, for this set of students. We were trying to get them through high school and learn English. Now we're really trying to do something more with them. I think that conceptual base is in line with the general conceptual base of what all children need. To some extent it's different, but to some extent it's very much mainstream. We are not out of the mainstream anymore. We are talking about doing the same thing for all children. I think that certainly makes me optimistic, with the new science and math frameworks as prime examples. We couldn't say that a few years ago—that those of us interested in these students could work with these new frameworks.

Secondly, I'm optimistic because we have the demographic impetus. Essentially, we cannot ignore these students — no one can ignore these students anymore. My colleagues in the high schools and middle schools know that you can't turn your back on these youth. You're in the middle of it, you have to do something different. I think, believe it or not, political power is shifting in this state and we're going to have state legislators and a Board of Regents who are going to be more concerned about this population. I'm optimistic that the demographic impetus will, in fact, pay off this time.

I see that the people who have done effective work in schools have looked at the projects that work. We are beginning to develop a knowledge base that is not just a conceptual framework, but a knowledge base of things that work for teachers, children and schools. I have some colleagues here from a high school project and have been working with colleagues from a middle school project, who are working very hard to incorporate a new knowledge base, a paradigm shift. They are working against those folks who don't want to move, but there are increasing numbers of teachers working to move forward.

I would leave you the message that I'm much more optimistic. I do see advances, and although there are deep concerns among all of us (some articulated by Peter) I'm finally suggesting that the cry is more than a battle cry to bring people together. So please, on behalf of these emerging student populations, continue the work that you are doing: conceptual, empirical and practical. I'm optimistic that, in this work, there are positive outcomes for these youth in the future.

Discussion

Question: Gene, you talked about moving from the Americanization model to the equal educational opportunity model to the multicultural model to some new level. Do you have a name for that model?

Garcia: I think it is one that is based on much of the research discussed here. It's a meaning-based and social/culturally based model of what schools ought to be about. It's not a subtractive model like Americanization. Even equal educational opportunity has adopted a subtractive model. Jim Cummins has spoken and written eloquently on this. Additive models say that we take what children are linguistically, culturally and then move to develop a school system, on an institution that adopts the additive model. That's what I've seen common in the projects discussed here, in the literature and in line with the general movement in education.

Question: Explain what you mean by equal educational opportunity.

Garcia: Desegregation. We said, the answer to this was to get those children together, but we didn't change the curriculum. We said, just come together and you'll be wonderful. You took the Latino children and the African American children out of their own communities and put them into the white schools. Now if that isn't subtractive, I don't know what is. This is not an incorporation of who you are, what you ought to be and then building in an additive sense. I'm not suggesting that people consciously adopted a subtractive model. I would even argue Headstart is subtractive. Headstart has a set of standards. I wish it were additive, but it's clearly "let's align these children, let's make them all the same." Although there are some programs that are a bit different, the national curriculum is still subtractive.

Roos: The people in this room are usually tokens in the discussion of mainstream education reform. I think the time is ripe and we probably ought to be thinking about foundations much bigger than ARCO in terms of really pulling people together. I have been, from my MALDEF and META days, the token voice. When the outcome of the reform discussions appears, there's no reflection of anything that you said. There are a lot of very important education reforms coming down. There needs to be an independent deliberation by folks like ourselves and then be fed into the discussion. It's one thing to have good ideas and quite another to have the political clout to make things happen. The political clout is beginning to happen.

Spiegel-Coleman: It's surprising to me how proposals made at the right time can change policy very quickly. People from the university can play a key role, because people do listen, at the right time in the right audiences, even if it is a somewhat flawed framework. The time is ripe. The Department is much more sensitive to people speaking up than they were in the past.

Roos: People like us have got to get engaged in the issue of charter schools. This is very questionable stuff. There actually is a forum at the state level, but there has got to be one locally. Obviously, the legislation has already been passed, and now school boards must approve the charter schools. People have got to be aware of the damaging potential and the positive potential when these things come up. I understand that within the last week there were so many charter school applications that there was some discussion about going back to the Legislature for more resources just to process them. The time is certainly now on that one, and there is a forum.

Question: The optimistic side is that we are creating a knowledge base, and know more than we did 20 or 30 years ago. I'm wondering if simply generating more knowledge, even if it's good knowledge, is going to be enough. In particular, I'm questioning the model of change that we are working under. We really need some kind of explicit model of change in our work. The old model of change, simplified, is an RD&D model, Research, Development and Dissemination and our job as academics is to do that. We do research, we do pilot programs, we disseminate our results. In my very limited work in schools, that is not enough. Even if that knowledge base is better than it was 20 or 30 years ago is that really enough to change 7,500 schools in this state? We can put up our hands and say how many of these schools are we actually working with? Maybe these models are good and we can generate that knowledge, I don't want to denigrate any kind of progress. But, why are you optimistic that research and knowledge base translates into action?

Garcia: I think that's a fair question. I still think we need a RD&D model but it's not being disseminated. There is research, there are conceptual frameworks, and there are new knowledge bases that can be drawn on. But what I have seen educational researchers do, over the past decade, is actually get out and work in the field.

I'm not saying it's as systematic as I would like, but I'm much more hopeful. Pilot projects and demonstrations bring researchers into the field to work with practitioners. We've seen what happens when that whole cycle takes on a life of its own. Work done in that field actually informs researchers and practitioners about how they can spread what they're doing to their colleagues. It's not just 'read my work, look at my videotape', it is 'let's go out and try this in the new context and new challenge.' So I really do think it is Research, Development and Do (RD&D) that I'm more optimistic about. Now, am I saying that we have all the knowledge base we need? No, but we have a lot more than we had, and it makes us better at taking the opportunity to change policy when it comes along.

Olsen: I want to be optimistic and I think that's the way we should be feeling—it would be nice to feel that way. Yes, research and development are needed, but I think we are trying to create a visionary program on a sinking Titanic. Perhaps one of the most important things we can do for an immigrant education agenda would be to work on the budget crisis. There's a tremendous erosion of public education that is the context for all the immigrant education work we are doing. It is an erosion of the funding and it is an erosion of the notion of public education. We can't allow ourselves to put on blinders and work on developing programs without taking on all that other work. This means it's not just research, dissemination, development and implementation that we need. We also need to address the whole political context. That is where my sense of despair comes from. There are such wonderful people here. I am bowled over by the level of energy, creativity and expertise. But there is something else going on out there and if we don't apply our best political strategy, our best thinking, we have lost the battle.

Garcia: I agree with you that if we were talking to the general public we would have to tell them that there is an erosion of public education. Within this room I would raise the issue, why is there public education? Why should anybody invest in it, if all we're doing is sending children out into a labor market that's not going to be any different than if they didn't get a public education? I think there's enough common ground to argue that if we invest in good public education that, in fact, we will be able to make a difference in those children's lives. Because quite frankly, I think the erosion of public education in the public's eyes is directly related to their own economic benefits. Why should I do this, if it's not going to be a benefit for me or my children? The data out of Los Angeles is frightening. Dropouts and non-dropouts are doing the same jobs three years after they finish high school. Why should these kids go to high school at all?

McCall: I want to urge among researchers a genuine acknowledgment of the real life context in which implementation is attempted. I acknowledge that advocacy has made a difference. Just a couple of graphic details to provide a setting. In my district, we have now cut all of our nurses and counselors. We have no librarians in the high school. We have no staff development department, we have no curriculum department, we have no research and evaluation department. Those were all abolished—7 million dollars were cut between February and yesterday. We have not yet implemented our 3% to 9% salary cuts across the board for our teachers, administrators and other staff. Anticipating the budget picture in Sacramento, we need to reduce another 6 million dollars before next year. That is the political and fiscal climate those of us in the field are facing as we try to develop programs for immigrant students. We are trying to press forward with enormous forces working against us.

Roos: The answer has to be on several fronts. You battle where you're effective and where you can. I mean obviously what Laurie says is very important and correct, that doesn't mean you don't engage in restructuring. That is an important piece in the existing world. Those who can engage that, and engage it intelligently to make it work a little better for LEP children, national origin minorities and poor children in general, have an obligation to do that. You're right that this isn't the whole ball game. There's a bigger ball game and that is that the total erosion of support, both fiscal and otherwise, is happening.

Footnote Thoughts and Future Directions

Session Description

The final session of the conference was designed as an open forum to identify any big areas that were missing in the conference and to discuss the main priorities for policy and action that have come out in the conference. The issues raised by participants were far-ranging and diverse, including concerns about higher education, primary language issues, the role of parents, the problem of non-completers of high school, the role of research, and the need for comprehensive models for secondary LEP education.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Access to Public Higher Education

Undocumented immigrant students, because of their lack of legal status, have to pay out-of-state tuition to go to public colleges and universities. This is a major barrier to higher education.

What institution is going to take education for the undocumented person past grade 12? If no public institution takes them on—and adult education is not—what are we going to do with kids that have only four years of schooling and this is the end of the academic road for them? How can we get them ready for work or continued learning? In some of our schools, they are the biggest population.

Approximately 65% of the Latino students in the state are undocumented in the high schools, and, if we are concerned about increasing Latino eligibility for the University of California, this is an issue. We can work on getting them through school, on being sure they take the A-F courses, but then they can't go on because they're also poor (90% of them require financial assistance). We have a legal land mine ahead of us and some policy changes will be needed if we're serious about sending more Latinos on to the University. We have got to change the way the Legislature and the University look at undocumented students.

IHE Role in High Schools

Conference sessions did not address the role of universities in setting up high school curriculums through university admission requirements. What if the UC system required that students demonstrate skills and experience with other students of diverse backgrounds as a prerequisite for admissions? Or that students should have experience with collaborative learning and scientific inquiry, like the Che Che-Kone model? That would really push our high schools to focus on issues of diversity, because high schools will answer to the universities' admission requirements.

Mainstream LM

A much more detailed, comprehensive understanding of second language learners who are in mainstream college preparatory classes is needed. This is an item for a research agenda.

College Preparatory Course Credit

Access to graduation or post-high school choices for LEP students depends on the uniformity in granting course credit towards high school graduation and credit from the universities and colleges for the completion of their entrance requirements. There is a great deal of diversity between districts with regards to what will get foreign language credit and whether ESL gets English credit or elective credit. Along with that, when we create L1 development classes, they end up being, in many cases, an elective credit which does not advance students towards college. There are students who complete all of their units for graduation, but fail the proficiency tests and are unable to get a comprehensive high school diploma. There's not much legal understanding or information about what the rights of those students are.

College Credit for ESL

How is language acquisition viewed by the universities and colleges? Very few institutions of higher education recognize English language acquisition as an activity as worthy as learning physics, math, or music. This issue has been on the table in California for the past six years, beginning with the review of the Master Plan for Higher Education. Our biggest problem is that in the universities, we do not have tenured faculty who teach English to students who are academically qualified but need English language development. Nationwide this is an acute problem.

As a motivational factor, if the universities are not going to recognize language acquisition, it is going to be very hard for a high school or elementary school teacher to emphasize it in the curriculum. The other problem, from my personal experience with Asian parents, is the immense complexity that they're willing to bring into their lives, just to keep their children out of language development programs. They feel that such classes are a waste of time and will destroy their children's economic opportunities. The lack of understanding, from the parent to the university, about what is involved in language development is a major problem.

TIME

The issue of time needs more attention. How long does it take students to get through this process? Is it realistic for us to be thinking of these students being on a parallel track with students who have been in schools all along? There have been lots of questions about when, when can we start to do this, and when can we start to do that. This is contingent upon a whole lot of different notions about the time needed for learning. We need research, and we need more programmatic models of what secondary schools could look like when they are really shaped around the time needs of immigrant students.

CENTRALITY OF LEP ISSUE

Language minority and Limited English Proficient student issues are becoming more central, rather than peripheral to issues in education. There is frustration here at the conference that we're peripheral, to a greater extent than we would like to be, in mainstream reform and education discussions. And so, one theme may be, how can we be less peripheral and make sure these issues are seen as central to education.

FOCUS ON THE WHOLE PERSON

We need to make sure that we don't lose sight of the comprehensiveness of the individual. We need research models and training programs which address the educational, psycho-social and the physical health needs of these kids. We need to collaborate, not just with this group, but with other groups that have the same children in mind.

The solution to educating LEP students is not just an educational solution. It's a family solution. It's a community solution. It's the other agency solution. When we think about strategies for dealing with this population or other populations of need, we need strategies that are inclusive of other agencies and other organizations.

RESTRUCTURING

Impact on LEP

One of the conclusions that many of us have arrived at is that California's restructuring efforts are not really working well for LEP children. We need to inform and be integrated into the discussion of reform. It behooves each one of us to find ways to do that. We cannot leave out the practitioners, and we have to encourage and support them in entering into that dialogue within their own settings.

Expert Resources

The restructuring movement doesn't have the expertise to do what we would like them to do. One area for funding would be to support those experts whose services would be free to the restructuring movement. If they let us work with them on three or four middle or high schools that have 1274 money, it would not be too costly, and we could make sure that our issues were included.

Culture and Language

We, as educators, have had a hem-line syndrome about the fads and fashions of what's in vogue with different approaches to instruction. Bilingual educators are not exempt from that. We tend to jump on some bandwagons without necessarily examining how it applies to specific linguistic groups and to diversity. Whatever proposal or movement you examine that does not consider language and culture from the outset should be viewed with suspicion. Every time somebody shifts the rules or shifts the paradigm, we lose the language and cultural considerations.

MODELS OF SECONDARY PROGRAMS

BW Study Schools

In developing models, isn't it time to identify the six schools that had full coverage in the BW study and begin there. First, find out if they still have full coverage, then take it from there. A response to this suggestion was that, what we know about these full access schools is their curriculum. It's dangerous to just get that information out without knowing if the school is actually doing a good job. They may offer a lot of courses, but the courses may not be presented in a way that's really effective. We need to make sure what we're disseminating complete information.

Research on Models

We do have a lot of information about effective practices at this point, but we still need more information. We need to be able to articulate how to make this transition from a focus on English language development to a focus on academic learning. It's been clear from what we've talked about here that there's still some need for discussion of what is the best way to teach academic content to children, and people in general, who don't speak the dominant language.

Generalizable Models

The models which are created should be generalizable, otherwise the same mistakes will be made as were made with the elementary models. When we look at the different language and cultural groups of our students, we see great theories that seem to answer questions for only 75% of the people. We think about other groups as an afterthought.

Quick Action

While we are trying to refine our models and look at more comprehensive ways of approaching this problem, we have to be willing to do some "quick and dirty" work for teachers who have three or four non-English speaking kids in the classroom and don't know what to do with them.

PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

Bilingual Models

It is absolutely crucial that we start thinking about models for how to deliver bilingual instruction at the secondary level. We are in danger of giving all of the action over to the sheltered model. There's got to be more thought about how to deliver bilingual, by finding places that are doing it successfully and trying to replicate their programs. If this isn't done, we are not going to see any bilingual on the secondary level. We will come back ten years from now and it's going to be all sheltered.

Primary Language Instruction

There are some high school teachers who have figured out a way to offer primary language instruction to their secondary LEP students. They are far and few between. I have been working with a group of these teachers and some of them are developing their own curriculum based on what the students bring to the classroom. They are borrowing from whole language. We may want to visit with these teachers to find out, what they are building upon, what the students are bringing into the classroom, and how they are using the primary language to learn content.

Two-Way Bilingual

We need to pay attention to the interactions that are going on in two way bilingual programs, the types of interaction, both social and academic, that the English-speaking mainstream students (whether they're African-American, Anglo or Chicano students who are re-visiting their roots) are doing with the LEP students.

Subject Matter Projects and L1

The conferees at the University of California campuses ought to make sure that the UC subject matter projects—Math, Science, Writing and Literature—all have an L1 multi-lingual component in them. Because that is the place where teachers spend four to six weeks every summer, and the only thing that got augmented in the state budget were those projects. Those projects can be damaging back in the schools if they ignore the students we are targeting. They can also be a powerful means of impacting teaching practice if they incorporate expertise on second language acquisition and cultural learning issues.

The UCLA Writing Project would be very willing to work with anyone who wants to make some progress in making sure that the subject matter projects really are addressing the needs of LEP students.

TEACHERS

Teachers as Advocates

We need to come up with some kind of program-funded training to help teachers become advocates. We don't get enough new people into the ranks of advocates.

Teacher Training

I am interested in identifying teacher education programs that will support the movement towards adding to models for secondary students. We need teacher education programs that will prepare teachers to be part of the engines of change.

PARENTS

Immigrant

How can we reach out to the parents of LEP students and educate them about their rights and the current research on language learning. Many of them subscribe to the idea of Americanization and the subtractive model, "If you spend any time on Chinese, you lose English." They inadvertently undermine our effort, feeling it is in the best interest of their children.

English Only

It is critical to involve the parents and communities of Limited English Proficient students. We as a group have not paid attention to the middle class parents of monolingual English-speaking children. White parents, when faced with the choice for their own children between excellence and equity, are going to choose excellence. We need to figure out a way to talk to those parents—the voters and people with power in this country who determine funding and support for public education.

SHELTERED INSTRUCTION

There has been a lot of discussion at this conference about what sheltered instruction means, and we've come to some consensus among us as a group. In the wider school community there isn't a consensus of what it is. There's a lot of misinformation. We're probably one of the best groups to be disseminating information about what sheltered instruction is and what it can look like under the best circumstances.

IMPLEMENTATION OF RESEARCH

As practitioners, we are working on models, and yet we have schools that have a hard time implementing the research that comes out. It is important that we look at ways of implementation that are effective. You can set policies, you can disseminate research, but implementing them in the classroom is sometimes completely different than what was intended.

Teacher-Researcher

In addition to the university-sponsored research studies, we need to encourage and support classroom teachers to do teacher-researcher studies in the areas that we've been discussing at this conference.

Foundation Funds

One of the problems foundations face in this area is that the few proposals from experts in this field are so scholarly, so narrow, that they do not apply to general education reforms. They don't make any connection with a reader who is not expert in this field. So I implore all of you to use people in your office or university who are not experts in your field to help you, after you finish your proposal, to prepare an executive summary and make it understandable for the lay-person. I've only been able to find three grants in this field for seven years because I wasn't able to get people to change what they gave me. The Center for Applied Linguistics suffered through this process with me. My colleagues there don't have the time or the background, or necessarily the caring, to work through so many drafts with you.

There are too few proposals in this area. One foundation representative at the conference has gotten only five proposals on this subject—period. So please don't hesitate to go to big foundations like Carnage, to community foundations and to corporate foundations.

Would this group consider forming some kind of a leadership subgroup out of the people who want to become advocates, people who want to simplify and re-frame these issues. We need people to educate uninformed executives who mean well, uninformed educators who mean well, and all the restructuring commissions and committees of policy who mean well but don't know a thing about the complexities of language acquisition and culture.

RACISM

A recurring theme is the issue of racism. However jaded we have become over the years, there are things going on in schools that can shock us. Here at the conference, we have heard that teachers can be in a school and see racist practices, and not confront other teachers about it. The solution is not to allow Asian kids to have urine poured over them. Teachers should immediately do something very aggressive about that kind of tyranny. Yet, we can understand why some individuals don't do anything. Someone mentioned the fact that not a lot of research has been done recently about combating racism in our schools—that needs to be looked at.

Racism can be defined in many of ways. In addition to the overt acts of racism, there is indifference, and the toleration of certain practices by well-meaning people. There is a big denial of racism within ourselves. It's not just non-white and white racism anymore, it's racism between other minority groups and between the professional minority groups.

Sometimes you can combat racism by educating the public. All people see is what the media gives them. One conferee urged other participants to start taking the time to get more exposure in the media.

We do everything possible to identify the models that train the teachers, the administrators and the school boards, in relation to the innate racism that does exist in our schools.

NON-COMPLETERS OF HIGH SCHOOL

There are thousands of "non-completers," students who stay through high school and never graduate. We estimate that in California we are generating about 50-75,000 non-completers, just about the same number as students who become eligible for the University of California system.

FUTURE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Given the size and scope of states like California, we do have a titanic situation. We are not going to see public schools continue the way they are. One reason is because immigrants like me are not very supportive of public education the way it is now. There is going to have to be substantive change and perhaps that is something that you, as researchers, might want to look at.

NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The statements that come out of this meeting need to take a national perspective. California has the numbers, but these issues exist throughout the country. As we try to move from remedial to enrichment, as we try to change attitudes, everywhere we're dealing with the tension between the growing movement towards local control, accompanied by an increasing anti-immigrant, anti-minority feeling. Here in California it's admirable that primary language is an assumption. Elsewhere it's not even on the table. We hope that the conference outcome will go beyond the California framework to acknowledge that we need to get primary language on the table everywhere. In a lot of other places it's not even considered a possibility.

LEP VICTIMS OF WAR

Another issue is with the non-formally schooled students who are coming from war-torn countries. They are coming in huge numbers to the mid-Atlantic areas of the United States. We are doing almost nothing to address their special needs for emotional support.

CONCLUSION

Many of the comments at this conference point to an action and research agenda. The movement towards building strong secondary comprehensive programs for immigrant students is still in a beginning stage. This conference is one more step towards sharing concerns, research and perspectives. Clearly, however, there is a great deal more to be done. It is the intention of the conference organizers to see to it that the proceedings will be widely disseminated. A list of participants is provided to facilitate networking. We look forward to continuing dialogue and to working together towards a whole public schooling system which addresses the needs of all students—U.S. and foreign born.

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Secondary Conference Bibliography

Carter, T.P & Chatfield, M.L. (1986)
"Effective bilingual schools: Implications for policy and practice." *American Journal of Education*, 95 200-232.

This article is concerned with the relationship between effective bilingual programs and effective schools. An elementary school in southern California, Carol S. Lauderbach school, is documented as an effective school. The research draws from the literature on effective schooling, effective bilingual education programs and extensive school level outcome data. The article draws causal relationships among school processes, school social environment and student outcomes. The authors question whether bilingual programs, in ineffective schools, can produce positive outcomes for language minority students.

Casas, M., Furlong, M., Carranza, O., & Solberg, S. (1986)
"Santa Barbara success study: Profiling successful and at risk junior high school students."
Final report submitted to the Santa Barbara School District Board of Education, University of California, Santa Barbara, Department of Education.

This study reports on research on 30 7th grade students in four groups: high achieving and at risk Mexican-American and Anglo students. The researchers conducted in depth interviews with students and parents, exploring the stressors in the students' lives that affect their school experiences. The Mexican-American students, whether high achieving or at risk, reported more life stressors than Anglo students. Mexican-American parents, while holding high aspirations for their children in school, did not know how to help them achieve at a higher level.

Chamot, A. U.
"Changing instruction for language minority students to achieve national goals," Plenary Address, Third National Research Symposium on Limited English Proficient Students Issues, Arlington, VA, August 12-14, 1992.

This paper identifies major academic needs of language minority students learning English in secondary schools and proposes ways to meet those needs. Effective instructional practices for all students need to be amplified to take into account the linguistic and cultural background of students learning English in American schools. The author suggests changes in instructional practices in the area of language support, instructional time and teaching approaches.

Collier, V. P.
"Academic achievement, attitudes and occupations among graduates of two-way bilingual classes," Paper presented at American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA, March 1989

The paper describes a study of the long term effects of two-way bilingual programs on participants on both language majority and language minority students. The students had participated in two way bilingual programs in Washington D.C. schools. The study included students who could be found years after the program, and their parents if they could be located. The study found that graduates of the two way programs were very successful in academic achievement and in negotiating bilingual/bicultural settings.

Collier, V. P.
"A synthesis of studies examining long term language minority student data on academic achievement," *Bilingual Research Journal*. 16:1&2, Winter 1992, pp. 185-210.

This article provides a research synthesis of studies that have examined language minority students academic achievement over a period of four or more years and compares those results with the findings of the longitudinal study by Dr. David Ramirez. (Aguirre International, 1991) Outcomes for two-way bilingual education programs, late exit bilingual programs, early exit programs, structured immersion and ESL. The author concludes: "The greater the amount of L1 instructional support.. combined with balanced L2 support, the higher they are able to achieve academically in L2 in each succeeding academic year, in comparison to matched groups being schooled monolingualy in L2."

Collier, V. P.
"How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievement in a second language," *TESOL Quarterly,* Vol 23, no. 3, September 1989, pp. 509-531.

This article draws from research on second language acquisition for schooling purposes to propose nine generalizations on optimal age, L1 cognitive development and L2 academic achievement. The author presents five new generalizations on academic achievement in a second language and calls for further research to validate and refine them.

Cummins, J. (1986)
"Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention." *Harvard Educational Review,* 56(1), 18-36.

Cummins proposes a theoretical framework for analyzing minority students' school failure and the relative lack of success of previous school reform efforts. Cummins describes three expressions of inter-group power relations that interfere with the school success of minority students: the majority/minority societal group relations, school/minority community relations and educator/minority student relations. The article draws on international research on the subject. Cummins offers ways in which educators can change these relations and improve minority student schooling outcomes.

Cummins, J. (1992).
"Language proficiency, bilingualism, and academic achievement." In Richard-Amato, P.A., & Snow, M.A. (Eds.) *The Multicultural Classroom: Readings for Content Area Teachers* 16-26. White Plains, NY: Longman.

In this chapter of the Richard-Amato and Snow book, Jim Cummins proposes a theoretical framework for conceptualizing language proficiency. His framework is based upon a distinction between two types of language proficiency: surface-level conversational proficiency and the deeper level of cognitive academic language proficiency.

Del Gado-Gaitan, C. & Trueba, H. (1991)
Crossing Cultural Borders: Education for Immigrant Families in America. New York, NY: The Falmer Press.

This book takes an anthropologist's approach to describing the school, family and school life of immigrant children. The ethnography is a case study of a rural California community and the Hispanic families with children in elementary school. The authors have documented, with vitality, the interactions within the home and in the children's classes showing how the home and school worlds interact and collide. Many quotes from children and parents liven the text of this unique work of anthropology and education. The authors conclude with a call for empowerment of minority families and communities as essential to school reform.

Edwards, H., Wesche, M., Krashen, S., Clement, R., & Kruidenier, B. (1984).
"Second language acquisition through subject-mater learning: A study of sheltered psychology classes at the University of Ottawa." *Canadian Modern Language Review,* 41, 268-282.

This article reported on research at the university level on students in sheltered subject matter classes. The research demonstrated that students acquire impressive amounts of second language as well as learning subject matter. This article contains the initial definition of sheltered instruction by Steven Krashen.

Lucas, T., Henze, R., & Donato, R. (1990)
"Promoting the success of Latino language-minority students: An exploratory study of six high schools." *Harvard Educational Review,* 60 (3), 315-340.

This article reports on six exemplary programs for Latino LEP students in high school. It is based on research conducted in Arizona and California by the Southwest Regional Laboratory. The authors present a list of features of exemplary programs for LEP students in high school.

Minicucci, C. & Olsen, L. (1992)
"An exploratory study of secondary LM programs." *Meeting the Challenge of Language Diversity: An Evaluation of Programs for Limited English Proficient Students,* Volume V, Berkeley, CA: BW Associates.

This volume of the larger Berman Weiler study of LEP programs in California reports on an exploratory study of secondary programs in California. It reports lack of access to core content, and a mismatch between the growing diverse LEP student population and the California secondary schools.

Minicucci, C. and Olsen, L. (1992)
"Programs for secondary limited English proficient students: A California study," National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, Occasional Papers in Bilingual Education, Spring 1992, Number 5.

This Focus report is a shortened version of the secondary study published as Volume 5 of *Meeting the Challenge of Language Diversity*, BW Associates, 1992. The original data tables published in the BW Associates report, have been omitted from this paper.

Nieto, S. (1992).
Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education. White Plains, NY: Longman.

This book addresses a wide range of issues of multicultural education. Topics include language diversity in the classroom, racism and discrimination, school structural factors that influence the achievement of diverse student populations, teaching strategies and multicultural education and school reform. Each chapter contains text, questions for the reader to consider, and first-person case studies in the words of individual diverse students.

Olsen, L. (1988)
Crossing the Schoolhouse Border: Immigrant Students and the California Public Schools.
San Francisco, CA: California Tomorrow.

This report presents the findings of the California Tomorrow Immigrant Student project. The study included fieldwork on schools and districts, reanalysis of state data on immigrant students from kindergarten through college, and interviews with 400 immigrant teenagers in their primary language. The study describes issues posed by immigration, its impact on the schools, and makes recommendations to the state and school districts.

Olsen, L, and Dowell, C. (1989)
Bridges: Promising Programs in the Education of Immigrant Children. San Francisco, CA: California Tomorrow.

This resource directory was developed by the California Tomorrow Immigrant Student project. The resource directory is a guide for educators, community groups and parents. It describes exemplary programs for immigrant students which address various social, personal and academic needs of students. Programs are organized by category and contact names and phone numbers are provided.

Peitzman, F. and Gadda, G. (1988)
Teaching Analytical Writing. California Academic Partnership Program, UCLA.

This handbook for teachers covers analytical writing at the university and high school level, and suggested approaches to error corrections for LEP students writing. The book includes a number of examples of student work, teacher correction and practical suggestions for teaching analytical writing.

Peitzman, F. and Gadda, G. (1991)
With Different Eyes. California Academic Partnership Program, Los Angeles.

This book emerged from the UCLA Writing Project's work with high school ESL teachers. The book includes descriptions of effective strategies in assisting LEP students to acquire advanced English writing skills. First person narratives of former LEP students in college are included.

Phelan, P., Cao, H.T., & Davidson, A.L., (1992)
"Navigating the psycho social pressures of adolescence: The voices and experiences of high school youth." Center for Research on the Context of Secondary Teaching, Stanford University, P92-144.

This paper reports the results of a longitudinal study of 54 youth in four urban California high school. The students included immigrant, non immigrant, and other culturally diverse youth. The research considered the social, emotional and educational consequences of the stresses young people face from their family, school and peer worlds. The authors developed a model from the data of how students cross boundaries and make transitions from one world to another.

Richard-Amato, P.A. & Snow, M.A. (1992)
The Multicultural Classroom: Readings for Content-Area Teachers, White Plains, NY: Longman.

This book includes edited readings from the work of experienced content area and language teachers, applied linguists and researchers. Content includes: theoretical framework for multicultural education, cultural considerations, instructional strategies and classroom management, and specific strategies for content area instruction. While it was designed for teachers, the book is an excellent reference work for academics, educators and policy researchers.

Steinberg, L., Blinde, P.L. & Chan, K.S., (1982)
"Dropping out among language minority youth: A review of the literature." Report R-6. National Center for Bilingual Research, Los Alamitos, CA.

This literature review analyzed the factors predicting dropping out and determined the relations between language minority status and the correlates of dropping out. Characteristics of the school-leaver, characteristics of the school and factors outside of the school are described.

Tikunoff, W.J., Ward, B.A., van Broekhuizen, L.D., Romero, M., Casteneda, L.V., Lucas, T., and Katz, A. (1991)
"Executive summary: A descriptive study of significant features of exemplary special alternative instructional programs." Los Alamitos, CA: Southwest Regional Educational Laboratory.

This is the executive summary of a larger study by SWRL on sheltered instruction in elementary and intermediate schools. Exemplary programs were nominated and screened through a multi-step process. The study includes results of classroom observation, teacher interviews.

Warren, B., Rosebery, A.S., Conant, F.R., & Hudicourt-Barnes, J. (1992)
"Cheche Konnen: Case studies in scientific sense-making." National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning: *Focus on Diversity*, 1(1), 2-3.

This paper reports on a study of the effects of a collaborative inquiry approach to science on language minority students' learning (secondary school age). This approach emphasizes involving the students, most of whom have never studied science before, and some of whom have had very little schooling of any kind, in "doing science" in ways that practicing scientists do. This study addresses the question: to what extent do students appropriate scientific ways of knowing and reasoning as a result of their participation in collaborative scientific inquiry. The study is based on a combined 7th-8th grade class of 12 Creole speaking Haitian students and 4 high school students.

Wenningham, B.
in *The Power of Context: Studies by Teachers Researchers*, Volume 2. California Academic Partnership Program, UCLA Center for Academic Interinstitutional Programs.

This volume reports results from a high school teacher-researcher in the Los Angeles area who developed strategies for teaching content to LEP students using Sheltered instruction.

Wong-Fillmore, L., McLaughlin, B., Ammon, P. & Ammon, M.S. (1985)
"Learning English through bilingual instruction: Final report to the National Institute of Education." Berkeley: The University of California.

The study of bilingual instruction was based on seventeen third and fifth grade Northern California classes with Spanish and Chinese speaking children. Four instructional factors were found to influence language learning: (1) quality of teaching (consistent predictable structure, emphasis on high level skills, and ample opportunity to practice oral skills); (2) quality of instructional language (coherent, contextualized language, formal discussion of structure and vocabulary); (3) quality of learning environment (focus on content learning rather than non academic activities) and (4) ample opportunity to practice English (requiring extended responses rather than single word answers).

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